

Preface

“Bṛahmaṅgala His Life and Literature” closely follows the pattern of my similar book on Bhavabhūti

I have tried to make the book as exhaustive and informative as possible. My main object is to place in the hands of University students, a detailed discussion on the author and his works, and to present before them a fairly exhaustive critical review of the work done in this field till now. I hope the work will interest also the general reader.

Many of the B. A. or M. A. students study at places where library facilities are moderate. Some students earn while they learn, and to them even time becomes a rare commodity. I have tried to furnish them with the views of the earlier scholars in the field, and often given numerous quotations from their works. I have tried to meticulously acknowledge the grateful debt to them at all such places. For any omissions I express here a deep sense of gratitude to all the Purvaks who have given me so much light. I must specially mention here the debt I owe to the works of Mr. Dr. P. V. Kage and Dr. K. R. Potdar.

I do not claim much originality, but discerning readers I trust, will find that I have made some little contribution of mine to the subject. I would be very happy and grateful to have all constructive criticism and suggestions, which I would utilise for improvement in the second edition.

The references cited in the book are to the following editions: (1) Kadambari ed. Dr. P. L. Vaidya (O. B. A. Poona) (2) Harṣa-charita ed. Acarya Jagannatha Pathak (Caukhamba Edn.) (3) Parvatipariṣayam (Nirṇavasagara Edn.) I have not given a subject-index at the end in view of the detailed Table of Contents.

My sincere thanks are due to my friend Shri T. A. Kulkarni, B. Sc. (Hons.) B. Ed., Proprietor, Nutan Printing Press and also to his entire staff for an efficient and quick printing of this book. Last but not the least, come my thanks to all Professors, students and lovers of Sanskrit, whose generous patronage I have enjoyed all these years in all my literary undertakings, as a proud privilege.

1st January 1963

134, Thalakhadi, B-1gaum }

S. V. Dixit

ERRATA

[For economy of space the Errata, showing the important corrections necessary, is presented here in a compressed form, each unit showing page, line, mistake and correction in sequence. Obvious misprints, which can be easily corrected are not mentioned.]

2-25 manuscript (manuscript)—3-13. (put fullstop after 'learning'—
 3-23. and (and)—3 29 ०कुलुपुमो (०कुलुपुत्रो)—6 32 भवु (भवु)—
 8-30 ecpleted (completed)—8 32 & 37 (add 't' at the end of
 either line)—9-27 ०सुह्याचार्य ० सुह्याचार्य— 11-2 ond (and)—13 6
 callad (called)—14-15 सिंहन दवाक्येषु (सिंहनादवाक्येषु)—16 6 विशाद०
 (विषाज०)—16-31 not ant (not an)—24-5 (read last two words
 as 'regarding in')—24-23, wha (what)—28-5 accended (ascended)
 29-8 ths (the)—29 13 (drop 'he' after ग्रहवर्मा)—29-17 commen-
 tatoe (commentator)—29-18. corroborater (corroborates)—30-16
 folowed (followed) 32-13 Harṣa (Harṣa's)—32-33 (after 'कुले
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 56-11 call of (call on)- 56-15 (put ',' after while)—62-15 wan-
 dening (wandering)— 66 10 . कर (पुष्पाकर)—66 16 (drop
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 (passed)—75-25 (read 'to the north')—77-15 (read told)—77-31
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 106 13 supressed (suppressed) -107-4 darung (darling)—109 34
 —vayantly (—vagantly)—112 26 -stic (-stics)—112 77 पारि०(परि०)
 113 6 he (the)—115 19 Gandarva- (Gandharva-)- 116 35 /read
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 enters in (enters in)— 123 9 cousins (cousins')—127 23 anff (and)
 —127 36 [put (3) before 'the']—131 12 ande lothing (and clothing)
 —133 8 Baṇa's (Baṇa's)—136 33 (read 'शरद् reason)— 138-11
 flowsrs (flowers)

मातापितृभ्यां समर्पितम्

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BĀNABHATTA:

His Life and Literature.

Chapter I.

BĀNABHATTA'S BIOGRAPHY

“ अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसम्भवो वाणः ।

नृत्यति यद्रमनाया वेद्योमुखलासिका वाणी ॥ ”

—पार्वतीपरिणये (१०४)

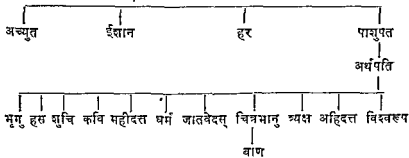
Sanskrit writers generally prefer to remain silent about their personal life and surroundings. In many cases we hardly know much beyond their names, while in some cases we get just a few details about their lives and times. Tradition and legend often try to make up for the lack of reliable biographical information, and then it becomes quite a job for the research scholar to separate the grain of truth from the chaff of fancy in such cases. Generally biographical information about Sanskrit authors has to be pieced together from (1) The information directly supplied by an author, (2) the information indirectly available from his works, (3) the information supplied by other authors about a particular author and (4) information available from contemporary or subsequent records like grants, inscriptions and the like.

But there are a few Sanskrit authors who have been more communicative about their personal account. Prominent amongst such authors who give considerable information about themselves are: (1) वाणभट्ट (who gives considerable information about himself in his हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी), (2) विल्हण (in his विष्णुनाटकदेवचरित), (3) मञ्जु (in his श्रीकण्ठचरित), (4) वाक्यपति (in his गौडवहो), (5) पद्मभूति (in his महावीरचरित, मालतीमाधव and उत्तररामचरित) and (6) दण्डिन (in his अवन्तीमुन्दरीक्या). Bānabhatta stands almost at the head of such self-communicative Sanskrit authors. He gives considerable information about himself, his ancestors and his surroundings in his हर्षचरित & in the first two उच्छ्वास and part of third उच्छ्वास).

He gives a brief personal account about himself in the introductory verses to his Kadambari (cp verses 10, 13, 16 and 19) We shall first sum up the information which we get from the poet's own pen —

The genealogical details available in the Harṣacarita are as follows

वत्स (cousin of सारस्वत, who was
| the son of सरस्वती and दधीच)
कुबेर (a descendant of वत्स)



In the Kadambari we get Kubera's mention to start with. He is described as a ब्राह्मण belonging to the वात्स्यायन गोत्र, who was honoured by many गुप्त kings. His son is said to be अर्जपति, अर्जपति's son चित्रमानु and चित्रमानु's son वाण. Thus we find that in Kadambari introductory verses the name of पाशुपत is missing. It is strange to suppose that Banabhatta (or acc to some Bhūṣaṅga-bāṇa, who composed these verses) forgot this illustrious ancestor of his. Very probably a verse describing पाशुपत was missing in the mss used for preparing the printed editions of Kadambari as Mm P V Kane suggests. We feel that this verse was lost very early, otherwise by now we would have recovered it from some manuscript or other.

To hark back to the detailed account in Harṣacarita once more, we learn therefrom that वत्स, the progenitor of Banabhatta's family lived at प्रीतिवृष्ट (alias राजनगरिवाट) on the banks of हिरण्यवाट (alias मोग). Banabhatta's mother राजदेवी died when he was yet a child.

So Bana's father acted both father and mother to him, and Bana was very fond of his father. But unfortunately Bana lost his father also when Bana was about fourteen years old (Bana's misfortunes in childhood, and especially his loss of both his parents has probably inspired the poignant description of the parrot's childhood in his Kadambari (cp Paras 23 and 33 of Kadambari). The parrot's account has much autobiographical interest. Bana's description of Sona in his हृयचरित reminds one of Bhavabhūti's partiality for गोदावरी—both due to close childhood associations.

After Bana lost his father, he led a wandering life for some time. This was due to a boyish curiosity, unchecked by any firm controlling guardian hand, than to any need to earn wealth or learning. Bana, on his own authority, had a rich heritage of both wealth and learning. cp 'स . बालतया निष्पतानुपगतो देशान्तरावलोकन-कौतुकाक्षिप्तहृदय सस्वाप पितृपितामहोपात्तेषु ब्राह्मणजनोचितेषु विभवेषु सति चाविच्छिन्ने विद्याप्रसङ्गे गृहान्तरिगान् ।—हृयं०। Bana was thus born with a proverbial silver spoon in his mouth, and in him was seen the union of श्री and सरस्वती which is so rare in this world (cp. Vikramorvasya V 24, Raghu VI 29). But in spite of such a prosperous background, Bana developed a strong curiosity to see the world at large and he travelled in a miscellaneous company. The list of Bana's companions makes a very interesting reading and contains all sorts of persons from various walks of life, reminding one of Chaucer's plan of the Canterbury Tales, where Chaucer has described about twenty-nine persons going on a pilgrimage. Here is the list of Bana's companions.—“अभवत्चास्य सवयम समागा कुहद महायाश्च । तथा च । म्पतरी पारसवौ चद्रसनमात्पेषी पापाकविरीसान पर मित्रम, प्रणयिनी रत्नारायणी, विद्वानो वारवाणवामबाणो, वर्णकविर्वर्णभारत, प्राहृतहृत्कुलपुभो वायुविकार बन्दिनावनदगवाणसूचीवाणो, कायायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जादगुलिको मयूरक, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डक भिषकपुत्रो मन्दारक पुस्तकवाचक मुद्गुष्टि, बगदश्चामीकर, हूरिक सिन्धुपेण, लेखको भोविदक, चित्रहृष्टीरवर्णी, पुस्तककुमारदत्त, मार्दिङ्गिको जीमूत गायत्री सामिलप्रहादिवी, सैरवरी कुरङ्गिका, यापिनी मधुकरपारावती, गायत्री पाष्यायो ददुरक सवाटिका केरलिका, लामकपुत्रा वाण्डविक आषिक आसण्डक,

वितवा भीमक, शैलालियुवा गिगण्डक, मतषी हरिणिका, पारागरी मुमति, धापका वीरदव, बचको जयमन गैवो वनपोण, मनसाधक कराल, अमुर-विवरब्धमनी लोहिताक्ष, धानुवादविद्रिहृद्यगम, दादुरिको दामोदर, ऐन्द्रजालि पद्मवाराक्ष, मरुवरो ताम्रचूडक । ' [of these companions four viz मधुकर, पारावत सूचीवाल and मुद्दुष्टि are mentioned in एषचरित III pp 139-140 another interesting point is that amongst वाण's companions there are four ' वाण's' viz चारवाण, वारवाण, अनट्टावाण and सूचीवाण Bāṇa's son is said to be भूषणवाण Why so many वाण's"]

Bāṇa's early wandering life was obviously not to the liking of his elder relatives or friends cp अगाच्च निरवप्रहो पट्टवानिव नववोय नन स्वैरिणा मनसा महतामुपहास्यताम ।-हृष I p 67 But we can say at this distance of time that they really made Bāṇa as we know him The spark of genius is always inborn but the vast knowledge of the world rich experience of life and close acquaintance with man and nature in an abounding variety which Bāṇa acquired during these sojourns made him one who has seen life closely and seen it whole No other Sanskrit author could probably claim to have read the book of life so closely as Bāṇabhaṭṭa Bāṇa returned after his wanderings to प्रीतिभू (or ब्राह्मण पिशात) with a rich harvest of wisdom and experience and with broadened sympathies and widened outlook And we reap the harvest of Bāṇa's vast experience of life in his works which are a standing evidence to his प्रीतिभा, द्युगति and जम्बत Bāṇa in these wanderings saw life in courts and countryside in seats of learning and in far off forest hamlets He learnt much of life and returned with a mature mind though young in years cp अयं तं तं तं तं तं तं तं तं

One summer day, Bana was resting after his mid-day meal, when his cousin चंद्रसन, ushered in a messenger from कृष्ण, a brother (or cousin) of Emperor Harsha. The messenger handed over a letter to वाणभट्ट from कृष्ण. In the letter वाण was requested to bear the oral message of कृष्ण from मखलक the messenger, and then to act up on it quickly. In the oral message Bana was informed that some wicked persons had poisoned Harsha's mind against Bana. But Krishna, knowing Bana's real nature and worth, had interceded on Bana's behalf with the king and the king was inclined to accept Bana's innocence and goodness. So Bana, without losing any time, should personally come to the royal court and pay his respects to the king. We are not informed how or why exactly Krishna got interested in Bana, and how he could vouchsafe for Bana's ability and integrity. We cannot say that Bana's father or some other ancestor had already made a mark at the court and had won royal patronage and so Krishna could know and speak for young Bana's qualities from personal knowledge. For Bana's own evidence is against such an assumption. 'वतिगम्भीर महाराज कुलम् । न च मे तत्र पूर्वपुरुषप्रबन्दिता प्रीतिः, न कुलप्रमाणा गतिः न बालसदास्नेहः, न मातृवीर्यम, न राजवल्लभापरिचरः । - हर्ष II p 89)

(We can only venture a guess that Krishna must have been probably a personal friend and admirer of Bana's father, and was keen to see that young Bana makes good)

When Bana got Krishna's message, Bana pondered for a while with hesitation and misgivings as to how he would be received at the royal court. But finally he decided to leave for the court. And after performing some auspicious rites, set out on the journey. On the third day he reached the camp of हर्ष, who was then camping near the town of मन्तार on the banks of बजिरावती (modern Rapti)

When Bana was presented to Harsha, who had with him the prince of Malava Harsha received Bana somewhat coldly, seeming displeasur. He remarked to the Malava prince 'महान जय वृत्ता' (He is a thorough *petit maître*) Bana with a wounded pride, replied with a calm dignity " नाहसि सामर्थ्या सम्भावयितुम-

विशिष्टमिव । ब्राह्मणोऽस्मि जातः मोमपायिना वसे वाऽस्यायनानाम् । यथाबाल-
मुपनयनादयः कृताः मस्काराः । सम्यक् पठितः साङ्गो वेदः । श्रुतानि यथाशक्ति
शास्त्राणि । दारपरिग्रहाम्बारागारिकोऽस्मि । वा मे भुजङ्गता । — हर्ष II p. 129.
Harṣa must have been impressed by this spirited plea. Bāṇa soon
became a great favourite of Harṣa and basked in the sunshine of
royal favour (cp. “ स्वर्णैरेव च ह्रीभिः परमप्रीतेन प्रमादजन्मनो मानस्य
प्रेम्णो विस्रम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभावस्य च परा कोटिमानोयत नरेन्द्रेणेति । ”
हर्ष II p. 134).

After securing royal favour and patronage, Bāṇa returned to
his native place. He was received very cordially by his relatives
and friends. The reardर सुदृष्टि entertained him to a recital of
वायुपुराण. The bard मूचिवाण recited two verses in आर्या metre,
which referred to the life of हर्ष. All were delighted to hear these.
Bāṇa's cousins (sons of his paternal uncles) गणपति, अधिपति, तारापति
and श्यामल looked at each other and then श्यामल, the youngest
(and obviously Bāṇa's pet) requested Bāṇa to narrate the story
of Harṣa's life from the beginning. Bāṇa pleaded his inability to
do justice to such an exalted theme and personage; but promised
to narrate a part of it. (This by the way should explain why
Harṣacarita was left incomplete by Bāṇa). But as the day was far
advanced, he began his narrative the next morning. Here ends the
autobiographical information in the हर्षचरित

About Bāṇa's later life we do not know much. He had
obviously married even before he went to the court of Harṣa, as
could be seen from his address of self-defence to Harṣa given
above. He had at least one son, who later completed his
Kādambarī, which he left incomplete due to the cruel hand of death.
The Harṣacarita also is incomplete, but this seems to be left so
intentionally, as Bāṇa had a limited plan, as seen above. He
only dwelt on the early life of his patron, the later life was too
well known and too contemporary to be written about. The name
of Bāṇa's Guru is generally taken to be ऋषु (which occasionally is
read as ऋषु, ऋषु or ऋषु) Bāṇa has paid homage to his Guru in
Kādambarī (int. v 4) : “ मयासि ऋषोरप रदास्युः ऋषु मनेः ऋषोरभिः

वृत्तान्तम् । समस्तनामन्तविरीचैदिकावित्पदीयोऽष्टितारणाद्गुलि ॥” A few stray verses are found in literature, which are attributed to भवू (cp Nos 513 and 1838 in मुभायितावलि of वल्लभदत्त—‘ वाम प्रियानपि प्राणान् विमुञ्चति मनस्विन । इच्छन्नि न त्वमित्रेभ्यो मद्दतीमपि सत्क्रियाम् ॥ ’ and ‘ आहूतोऽपि सहायैरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्त्वा निद्रोऽपि । गन्तुमना अपि पथिकः सकोच नैव शिथिलयति ॥ ” These verses occur also in माद्वर्गधरपद्धति Nos 252, 3932)

Bāṇa had two half-brothers, born of a शूद्र woman. Their names were चन्द्रसेन and मानुषेण. The four cousins of बाण are already referred to above. The family seat, since the days of वल्ल, the progenitor of the family was प्रीतिकूट on the west bank of the river हिरण्यवाहू. In the vicinity of this place there were two villages named मन्वकूट and यष्टिकूट, beyond which lay the realm of Harṣa at that time. According to आचार्य पाठक Bāṇa returned to his native प्रीतिकूट after Harṣa's death and he wrote his two great works there.—But we have no proof for this view.

Bāṇa, as mentioned earlier, seems to be a man of means, in general contrast to most Sanskrit poets. In his Harṣacarita his family is described as a family rich in wealth and learning. And Bāṇa himself became a protege of Emperor Harṣa and was in a very prosperous condition. We learn that Emperor Harṣa had conferred upon Bāṇa the title ‘ वश्यगणेशविचक्षणवर्तिन् ’ (Sovereign Lord of poets who are masters of speech) and Bāṇa's two works fully justify this description of him. We get this information about वदनिसववर्तिन नरेन्द्रधर हर्षे patronising Bāṇa and conferring on him the title वश्यगणेशविचक्षणवर्तिन from the Karnataka Prācātānta of the poet Durgasimha who flourished at the time of the Calukya king Jayadekamalla II. Bāṇa had also the epithet बुरह्म बाण given to him by some Pandit on account of his striking description of the horse इन्द्रायुध.

{ Bāṇa was a very learned person. He had a deep knowledge of Śrītuṣ Smṛtiṣ Rāmāyaṇa Mahābhārata the various Durgas, grammar, rhetoric and the like. We shall revert to a detailed

discussion of this topic later in this book Bāṇa was a great devotee of Śīva, though no bigot by any manner or means. Actually he seems to be Vedantic in his outlook. Even this topic would be taken up in detail later in this book.

“ Before we close the account of Bāṇa's life ”, to reproduce the late Prin Gajendragadkar's words, ” we want to point out one tendency which we have noticed in बाण by a perusal of his works. In those memorable lines from ‘ The Fall of Hyperion ’ Keats has declared that none but those to whom the miseries of the world are misery, and will not let them rest, can usurp the height in the temple of Sarasvatī, which is attained by real poets. Keats, therefore, says —

Yes, I must pass then for a nobler life
Where I may find the agonies, the strifes
Of human hearts

— Sleep and Poetry.

Looked at from this point of view बाण does not come up to the mark. It appears that he creates for himself an atmosphere of his own and scarcely descends from the heights of the Himalayas into the world of grim realities to face the miseries of life and the agonies of human hearts. Wherever he goes he carries an ideal atmosphere wherein there are no scoundrels. He seems to fight shy of the darker aspects of human nature. Even Kālidāsa does not appear to do it. To us only Bhāvābhūti seems to answer fully the test set down by Keats ”.

This biographical account of बाण may well be wound up by dealing with an account of two other authors, who are connected more or less closely, with him. One is his son Bhuṣaṇa and other his father-in-law (or brother in law) Mayūra.

It is well known that बाण's son completed his father's कादम्बरी. He says in the introductory verses to the Kadambari uttarabhāga that he completed his father's incomplete कादम्बरी not to flaunt his own poetic talents, but to satisfy the public, which was deeply grieved over the abrupt stop to which बाण's death had brought it. *एष याते दिव पित्रि तद्वचमैव गाधे विच्छेदमाप मुवि यस्तु कथाश्रवण । दुःख सता तदमनात्किञ्चन विशङ्क्य प्रारब्ध एव न मया न क्विचिदपार्त् ॥* “ The name of बाण's son is given differently at different

places Dr Buhler says that his name was भृगुपुत्र (See Dr Peterson's Introduction to Kadambari p 40) Others (Peterson, Keith etc) say it was भृगुभट्ट In some mss of कादम्बरी the name is stated to be पुलिन्द or पुलिन्द (vide Prof S R Bhandarkar's report on the search of Mss 1904-5, 1905-6, p 39, see also Dr Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss at Jammu p 299) Dhanapala, in his निलयमञ्जरी (circa 1000 A D) seems to indicate that Bana's son was named पुलिन्द or पुलिन्द cp " कवोऽपि स्फुरन्वाण करोति विमदाव वीन् । किं पुन कृत्वात्मानपुलिन्द (न्द ?) दृष्टसन्निधि ॥ "—v 26, which is a श्लोक verse Mm P. V Kane has shown how पुलिन्द is not an unusual name, as the donee in Inscription No 31 of the Gupta inscriptions, dated 214 of the Gupta era i e 533-34 A D, of महाराज शर्वाथ is a पुलिन्द (p 136) We wonder whether this पुलिन्द, the donee, was an ancestor of Bana, because the repetition of ancestor's name is a common Indian habit

The late V K. Chiplunkar in his essay on Bana mentions a tradition according to which Bana's son vowed to complete कादम्बरी before the first anniversary of his father and succeeded in carrying out this praiseworthy plan of his

Another author traditionally linked up with Banabhatta is Mayūra Bana is said to be a contemporary and the son-in-law (or brother-in-law) of Mayūra Thus acc to मधुसूदन author of the commentary भावबोधिनी on मूर्धेशक—माण्ड्यराजस्य उज्ज्विनीराज-घानीकस्य कविलेखमूर्धन्यस्य रत्नावल्याख्यनाटिकावतुमंहाराजश्रीहर्षस्य सन्धौ महाकवी पौवंस्यो वाणमयूरावास्ताम् । तयोर्मध्ये मयूरभट्ट इवसुर । वाणभट्ट कादम्बरीग्रन्थवर्ता तस्य जामाता । Dr Hall's ' Preface to Vasavadatta ' p 8 mentions the authority of a commentator of मानतुडगाचार्य' मन्नामरस्तोत्र to support the same relationship of वाण and मयूर The प्रवचचिन्तामणि of मेस्तुडग, however says that Bana was the husband of Mayūra's sister Mayūra is said to have got rid of leprosy by composing मूर्धेशक, and Mammaṭa in Kāvyaaprakāśa I refers to this in the words ' जादित्वादिमयूरादीनामिवानयनिवारणम् । ' Bana became envious of Mayūra and maiming himself is said to have regained his retrenched limbs by composing the चण्डिका

The legend as to how Mayūra got leprosy and how he got rid of it is amusing Acc to it मयूर was a contemporary of वाणभट्ट

and was the latter's father-in-law or brother-in-law. One day, while returning after his morning constitutional, he passed by Bāṇa's house and he overheard at that early hour of morning a love-quarrel between Bāṇa and his wife. Bāṇa was trying to pacify his wife who was angry for some reason and he addressed a verse to her. But when three quarters of the verse were complete Bāṇa's muse failed him. Mayūra, from outside supplied the fourth quarter. (The whole verse is गतप्राया रात्रिर्वरतनु शशी शीयंत इव प्रदीपोऽप्य निद्रावशमुपगतो घूर्णत इव । प्रणामान्तो मानस्त्यजसि न तथापि क्रुमहो कुचप्रत्यासत्या हृदयमपि ते चण्डि कटिनम् ॥) Bāṇa's wife did not like an outsider's intrusion on her privacy, and little realising he was Mayūra (her father or brother) cursed him to be a leper. भट्टयज्ञेश्वर gives this story in his commentary on the सूर्यशतक. He makes both वाण and मयूर reside at the court of King Bhoja (1000 A D) at Dhara. So this story has no historical value by itself. Mayūra, who consequently became a leper, got rid of leprosy by composing the work सूर्यशतक cp. शुभाशागर on काव्यप्रकाश I (ref above) पुरा किल मयूरश्चर्मा कुण्ठी कवि क्लेशमसहिष्णुरत्युच्चतदशास्त्राव लम्बि शतरज्जुशिक्यमधिरूढ सूर्यमस्तौपीत । अकरोच्चर्ककपद्या ते एकैकरज्जु विच्छेदम् । एव त्रियमाणकाव्यपरितुष्टो रवि राद्य एव नीरोगा रमणीया च तत्तनुमकार्षीत् प्रसिद्ध च तन्मयूरशतकमिति ।” How Bāṇa composed his चण्डीशतक to emulate Mayūra is stated above already.

There is nothing improbable about the contemporaneity of Bāṇa and Mayūra. There are verses in Sanskrit literature which refer to वाण and मयूर as contemporaries and proteges of king Harṣa cp (1) “ अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकर । श्रीहर्षस्याभव सभ्य सम वाणमयूरयो ॥ ” a verse ascribed to राजशेखर and quoted in सुभाषितावलि and शाङ्गधरपद्धति (2) “ स चित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणो रवनीपति । श्रीहर्ष इव सवट्ट चक्रे वाणमयूरयो ॥ ”—नवसाहस्राङ्कचरित II 18 which refers to a contest between वाण and मयूर at Harṣa's court. आनन्दवर्धन s ध्वन्यालोक (latter half of the 9th cent A D) has quoted verses from मयूर's सूर्यशतक (e g the verse दत्तानन्दा & c, which is no 9 in सूर्यशतक N S Edn) क्षेमेन्द्र s कविकण्ठाभरण (latter half of 11 the cent A D) mentions मयूर by name and quotes a verse from सूर्यशतक (the verse अस्तव्यस्तत्वशून्यो & c, No 18 of सूर्यशतक is quoted in the fourth सन्धि of कविकण्ठाभरण as मयूर's)

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Chapter II.

BĀNABHATTA'S DATE

"Bāna's date is one of the surest planks in the tottering structure of ancient Indian chronology

—Mm. Dr P V Kane

Fixing the dates of Sanskrit authors is generally a laborious task and often a headache inspite of a salutary exercise and incentive it affords to the brains of researchers ! So when we come across some authors like Bānabhatta whose dates are practically definite and beyond cavil, we feel doubly rewarded firstly because of the definiteness of these dates themselves and secondly because their help in fixing the dates of some other authors, who might have referred to, or might have been referred to by, such authors

Bānabhatta was patronised by Emperor Harṣa of Sthanvisvara as we know from Bānabhatta's Harṣacarita. Then, the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who was in India from 629 A D to 645 A D has left extensive memoirs of his travels, wherein he mentions a king Harṣa who was then the Emperor of Northern India. This Buddhist pilgrim left his native country in 629 A D to visit the sacred places of his religion (viz Buddhism) in India and travelled widely for about sixteen years in India. He relates that during his whole travels in this country a king called 'Ho li cha fa tanna', which translated in Sanskrit means ह्यचरान, was the supreme ruler of Northern India, with his capital at Kanayakubja. This king undoubtedly is identical with king श्रीहर्ष, Bāna's patron and the hero of his ह्यचरित, because the account of हर्ष by ब्रह्मवट्ट and that by Hiuen Tsang agree remarkably well on the whole. This emperor ह्य ruled from 606 A D to 648 A D. This was the time of Bāna's literary activity. So Bāna must have lived [towards the end of the 6th and first half of the 7th century A D

There is a wealth of corroborating evidence which can be marshalled, in support of this date. We present below practically

all such noteworthy evidence, with special debt of gratitude to Mm Dr P V Kane, who first presented it with such richness and exhaustiveness —

(1) Ruyyaka in his अलङ्कारसर्वस्व (circa 1150 A D) mentions हर्षचरित of वाण several times, and also mentions that he himself wrote a work called हर्षचरितवातिक Ruyyaka has also quoted from the Kadambari (cp ' यस्तपोवनमिति मुनिभिः ') इत्यादि हर्षचरिते श्रीकण्ठाख्यजनपदवर्णने—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 47, " तथाचि हर्षचरित ' अनुसूयो देव्या इत्यात्मसम्भावना ' इत्यादौ, तथा ' यामीति न स्नेहसदृशम् ' इत्यादावुक्तविषय आक्षेप " — अल p 117, " यथा हर्षचरिते राज्यवर्धन प्रति श्रीहर्षोक्तिषु ' यदि बाल इति सुतरामपरित्याज्योऽस्मि '—अल. p 139, " नमन्तु शिरासि पशुषु वा कर्णपूरीक्रियन्तामाज्ञा मौष्यो वा—अल. p 158, " यथा वा हर्षचरितप्रारम्भे ब्रह्मसदसि वेदस्वरूपवर्णने । एव तत्रैव मुनिगोषवर्णने, पुलिन्दवर्णनादौ ज्ञेयम् । —" अल p 182, " चित्रकर्मसु वर्णसङ्करो यतिषु षण्ढग्रहणानि '—अल p 154 (This last reference is from कादम्बरी). For Ruyyaka's reference to हर्षचरितवातिक cp एषा (उत्प्रेक्षा) च समस्तोभमाप्रतिपादकविषयेऽपि हर्षचरितवातिके साहित्यमीमांसाया च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषुदाहृतम् ।—अल p 61)

(2) क्षेमेन्द्र in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा and कविकण्ठाभरण has referred to वाण by name several times क्षेमेन्द्र flourished in the latter half of 11 th cent A D He also seems to have written पञ्चकादम्बरी based on वाण's कादम्बरी (In his औचित्यविचारचर्चा he quotes the verse स्तनयुगमश्रुनात् & c , and elsewhere in the same work writes " न तु यथा नट्टवाणस्य ' ज्यत्युपत्र न चकार & c ' —In his कविकण्ठाभरण—सन्धि 2 he says यथाच नट्टवाणस्य—' षट् कवणता सज्जदायका ' & c)

(3) Namisadhu in his commentary on Rudrata's काव्यालङ्कार (comm with 17 1069 A D) has mentioned हर्षचरित as specimens of कथा and कल्पविज्ञा (see comment on काव्यालङ्कार of सूत्र XVI 22 and 26)

(4) Bhoja (11 th cent A D), in his नरस्वर्तविक्रमाभरण has referred to वाण at some places भाज also has observed पादुकाद्विधो वाण पञ्चम न तादृश (v 1 पञ्चमधेऽपि तादृश —N S Edn)

(5) The *Dasarūpa* of Dhanañjaya mentions Bāṇa by name. Dhanañjaya was patronised by king Muñja, probably the uncle of king Bhoja Dhanañjaya's date is circa 950 A D —1000 A D.

(6) Abhinanda wrote in verse the कादम्बरीकथासार. अभिनव-गुप्त in his ध्वन्यालोकलोचन has referred to a कादम्बरीकथासार by भट्ट-जयन्तक, probably confusing between अभिनन्द and अभिनन्द's father भट्टजयन्त, also called वृत्तिकार. अभिनन्द's date is circa 950 A. D Any way अभिनन्द is definitely pre-क्षेमेन्द्र because क्षेमेन्द्र has mentioned him in his सुवृत्तितिलक cp अनुष्टुप्सततासक्ता साभिनन्दस्य नन्दिनी । विद्या-धरस्य वदने गुलिकेव प्रभावभू ॥

(7) The ध्वन्यालोक of आनन्दवर्धन (latter half of the 9th cent. A D.) mentions Bāṇa and his two prose compositions by name (cp 'यथा स्याण्वीद्वरास्यजनपदवर्णने भट्टबाणस्य 'यत्र च मत्तमातङ्गामिन्य '—ध्वन्यालोक p 100, यथा हर्षचरिते ' समवाय इव विरोधिना पदार्थानाम् '—ध्व p 101, यथा हर्षचरिते सिंहन देवाक्येषु—' वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये '—ध्व p 127, ' यथा कादम्बर्यां कादम्बरीदर्शनावसरे —ध्व p. 8, on p. 99 of ध्वन्यालोक a passage is quoted from हर्षचरित II without naming it).

(8) वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति seems to quote a few words from the Kadambarī वामन's date in all probability is the latter half of the 8th cent A D (cp ' अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य ' इत्यत्रापि, मन्ये, स्मशब्द कविना प्रयुक्तो लेखकेस्तु प्रमादात् लिखित इति । ' on ' आहेति भूतेऽयणलन्तम्रमाद् ब्रुवो लटि '—काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र V 2 44. For the words ' अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य ' see कादम्बरी para — 2).

Thus several authors from 12th century A D backwards to the 8th century A D. refer to Bāṇa and his works.

Bāṇa himself refers to a number of authors or works in his Introduction to the *Harācarita* Bāṇa's date (the first half of the 7th cent. A D) is the terminus ad quem of these poets. The works and poets mentioned by Bāṇa by name are —

- (1) व्यास and his भारत (also referred to again as भारती कथा)
- 2) The आख्ययिवाकारा in general (3) वासवदत्ता (4) गद्यबन्ध of भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (5) सातपाहन's कोश of मुमापितस (6) सतु of प्रवरसेन

(7) The नाटकs of भार (8) The सूक्तis of कालिदास (9) बृहत्कथा and (10) भाट्टराजकृत उत्साहs

We shall discuss, at some length, for the benefit of our readers the dates of and some relevant particulars about these works or authors —

(1) व्यास and his भारत—The reference is obviously to the world-famous Mahābhārata ascribed to Vyāsa but which actually has grown into a शतसाहस्री संहिता of an encyclopaedic nature, roughly between 400 B C — 400 A D The work narrates the story of the family feud of the कौरवs and पाण्डवs It was already a holy work by the days of Bana, who more than once refers to it.

(2) The आख्यायिकाकारा—This is a general reference to the ‘writers of akhyāyikas’ Obviously Bana had before him a fairly rich tradition of Sanskrit prose romance We shall revert to this topic at a subsequent stage in the book

(3) वासवदत्ता—There is considerable controversy about the identity of this ‘वासवदत्ता’ referred to by Banabhatta. Is it ‘वासवदत्ता’ the well known कथा of that name by सुवचु? Or is it an आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता, not extant now, but referred to by पतञ्जलि the author of the महान्याय? Scholars like Dr Hall, Dr Peterson (acc to his later changed view as expressed in his preface to बल्हनदेव’s सुमापितावलि), Prof Macdonell (who by the way has given an altogether erroneous account of the contents of the वासवदत्ता), Vishnuashastri Chiplurkar and Mm P V Kane, hold that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Banabhatta is the वासवदत्ता of सुवचु While Dr Peterson earlier held the view that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Banabhatta is not सुवचु’s वासवदत्ता, but probably the आख्यायिका of that name mentioned by पतञ्जलि, and the late Prin A B Gajendragadkar has tried to argue strongly for this view which is shared by the late पाट्टरगसास्त्री पारवी & Pandit R. V Kṛṣṇamma-chariar as Prin Gajendragadkar mentions We shall now examine the arguments of both sides

Mm Kane’s arguments, representing the former view are —

(1) कविराज, the author of राघवपाण्डवीय mentions मूढन्व, बाण and

himself as the masters of वक्रोक्ति cp " सुबन्धुवर्णिमदृश्च कविराज इति त्रय । वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥—राघवपाण्डवीय " I 41. Mm Kane feels that the mention is in chronological order But this argument is not very convincing For Sanskrit writers generally do not show any chronological sense in their reference to their predecessors and we have no special reason to believe that कविराज was particularly meticulous Probably कविराज had a greater admiration for सुबन्धु whom he resembles in profuse use of laboured and artificial श्लेष in his double meaning राघवपाण्डवीय. Further we have another poet viz वामनदाण, author of वीरनारायण-चरित who mentions दाण before सुबन्धु cp प्रतिकविभेदनदाण कवितातृ-गहनविहरणमयूर । सहृदयलोकसुबन्धुजयति श्रीमदृवाणकविराज ॥ We have in मडखस श्रीकण्ठचरित a verse where मेण्ठ, सुबन्धु, भारवि and दाण are praised together, with no possible pretensions to chronology cp. " मेण्ठे स्वाद्विरदाधिरोहिणि वग याते सुबन्धु विधे शान्ते हन्त च भारवी विघ-टिते वाणेशिवादस्पृश ।—श्रीकण्ठचरित II 53 Really there are no chro-nological ideas generally in such mentions

(2) वाक्पतिराज refers to सुबन्धु (cp भासम्मि जलनमित्ते वतीदेये अ जस्स रहुआरे । सोवन्धवे अ बन्धम्मि हारियन्दे अ आणन्दो ॥—Pandit's Gaudāvaho v 800), but not to Baṇa So it seems that in his days सुबन्धु was already famous, but दाण was not yet known to fame वाक्पति's date is the first half of the 8th cent A D and he was a contemporary of Bhavabhūti This argument also is not very convincing It is a negative argument based on वाक्पति's non-mention of दाणभट्ट But negative arguments do not carry any probative force Thus for example दाणभट्ट mentions महाभारत in the introductory verses to his हर्षचरित, but makes no mention of रामायण there Was he not aware of रामायण ? We can quote chapter and verse to prove that he was

(3) The वासवदत्ता referred to by दाण is probably a यथा and no ant आत्यायिका So it cannot be the आत्यायिका mentioned by पञ्चजलि Baṇa probably refers to a यथा वासवदत्ता only, because just in the previous verse the आत्यायिकाकारा have been praised and

in the present verse he should be referring to another type of पद्यकव्य viz. कथा, because " in this Introduction Bana assigns only one verse to each of the poets or works mentioned by him, there is no reason why he should depart from this rule in the case of आख्यायिका " (slightly adapted quotation) I think Mm Kane is not very convincing here also ह्यंत्रित the work undertaken, being an आख्यायिका, Bana might naturally have given more than one verse to that type. We actually feel that verses 10, 11, 19 and 20 are in praise of आख्यायिकाs

Thus we find that all the three arguments given above are not able to carry conviction. Now we shall examine the arguments on the other side as marshalled by the late Prin A B Gajendra-gadkar. He holds that the वानवदत्ता referred to by Bana cannot be that of सुबन्धु for the following reasons —

(1) Subandhu's Vasavadattā hardly justifies the high encomium paid by Bana in the introductory verse under reference. The वानवदत्ता of सुबन्धु brims with श्लेष at every word almost, as the author proudly claims, and these श्लेषs are generally abstruse, repetitive, commonplace and occasionally badly indecent and obscene. The plot construction is too ill knit and governed by chance. It hardly can be called a great work by an author like Bana. We wonder whether this argument should not be called too subjective, though fairly a just one.

(2) Prin Gajendragadkar wonders how Subandhu's slipshod and uncouth work could be an admirable model for Bana who shows a high sense of chastity of sentiment as well as of diction. How literary taste can differ so sharply between the brief period between Subandhu and Bana ? On the whole priority of Subandhu to Bana is implausible. Prin Gajendragadkar thinks that artificial style developed after Bhavabhūti, and he would place सुबन्धु after 700 A D. He also notes that Dr Peterson (who later on changed his view without giving reasons for it) originally had a similar opinion. He had then thought that the present वानवदत्ता of सुबन्धु with its ' graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns ' could hardly be supposed to have preceded the chastity

of sentiment and diction of Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti—can we imagine such a public reversal of taste towards catholicism in literature? We think this question is only a rhetorical flourish & proves nothing. There is no particular rule either about 'chaste' style and 'unchaste' style following one another in one particular order or about their inability to co exist together. Dandin who precedes both Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, has many a vulgar and indecent phrase or pun, why should Subandhu be denied that luxury? And when we speak of the chastity of Bhavabhūti's style, we should not forget that the maestro of Uttararāmacarita has written many a passage in the earlier Mālatīmādhava which would make the purists blush!

(3) Subandhu is hardly original. He has borrowed greatly from old masters like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, and also very extensively from Bāṇa himself. Prin Gajendragadkar quotes chapter and verse of such borrowings. But one may well ask whether सुवन्धु borrowed from बाण or vice versa? Prin Gajendragadkar says that Bāṇa, who has fiercely attacked plagiarists in his introductory verses to the हर्षचरित, can hardly be the plagiarist himself. And so according to him सुवन्धु must be the borrower. He also asserts that the late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar also was fully aware of सुवन्धु's large-scale borrowings from earlier authors, still because of his fixed notion that बाण's reference was to सुवन्धु's वासवदत्ता, he believed that Bāṇa borrowed from सुवन्धु in case of the similar passages. We find it very difficult to reach any definite conclusion about the debt of सुवन्धु to बाण or vice versa. Mm P. V. Kane also reaches the same indecision after raising the topic. He points out how the following quotation from वासन's काव्यालङ्कार-सूत्रवृत्ति occurs with slight variations in हर्षचरित and वासवदत्ता cp. "कुलिशशिखरखरनखरप्रचयप्रचडचपेटापाटितमत्तमातडगकुम्भस्थलगलन्मदच्छटा-च्छुरितचारुवेसरभारभामुरमुखे केगरिणि-काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति I 3 26, this passage occurs in हर्षचरित VI with v 1 ' ०मातडगोत्तमाडगभेद०', it also occurs in वासवदत्ता (p 331 of the Srirangam edn and p 266 of Hall's) with a v 1 ' ० चपेटपाटितमत्तमातडगकुम्भस्थलगधिरच्छटा-च्छुरितचारुवेसरभारभामुरवेसरिकदम्बेन" "This correspondence between

the वासवदत्ता and the हर्षचरित opens up the question whether वाण actually borrowed the words of वासवदत्ता. There are many passages where वाण's words and ideas coincide with those of the वासवदत्ता. For want of space we refrain from quoting all of them. But we cannot help referring to a passage in the हर्षचरित (uc III para 6) containing a list of kings which is similar to a passage of the वासवदत्ता (Hall's edn pp 273-276). That one of them has borrowed from the other hardly admits any doubt." But who is the borrower certainly admits one'

(4) The reference by Bana to Vasavadattā in an introductory verse to the Harṣacarita comes immediately after his homage to the आख्यायिकाकारा, and in all commonsense expectation he is referring to a great आख्यायिका 'वासवदत्ता' in the following verse. The वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु is a कथा, and it can hardly be the one referred to by Bana. P. M. Gajendragadkar feels that the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana seems to be the ancient famous आख्यायिका of that name referred to by पद्मलि in his महाभाष्य, by जयार्जुन and वागन, authors of वासिका, an old commentary on पाणिनिमूत्र, in their वासिका, and by भट्टोजी दीक्षित in his सिद्धान्त-बौद्धी, and which at present is not extant. (The महाभाष्य commenting on the वासिका 'अथिक्त्य कृते श्रुते श्रुताख्यायिकाम्बो बहून्' mentions three works of the आख्यायिका class viz- वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा and नैमरथी (Kielhorn vol II p 313). In another place he speaks of a person who has studied the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता (Kielhorn vol II p 284). It is not impossible that Bana knew this work and referred to it.)

(5) Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti have referred to the वासवदत्ता legend (cp प्रधानस्य प्रियदुहितर बल्मगजोऽत्र जहृ ।—Megha, वासवदत्ता च सजयाय रागं चिन्ता दत्तमानान उदययाय प्रायच्छन ।—M. M.) Now we find that these references do not fit in with either the details in the कथानिर्णयकार or the दृष्टकथामञ्जरी (which make चण्डमहासेन of उज्जयिनी the father of वासवदत्ता and प्रद्योत king of मगध as the father of पद्मावती), or those in सुबन्धु's works. So probably the source for

Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti was the same old आस्वायिका वासवदत्ता referred to by पद्मञ्जलि and others.

About the date of सुवन्दु, the upper and lower limits can be broadly fixed as follows—(1) सुवन्दु seems to be referring to न्यायवाक्यिकार उद्योतकर and वीद्वसद्वगति an alamkāra work by धर्मकीर्ति (cp न्यायसिद्धिनिबोधोद्योतकरस्वरूपा वीद्वसद्वगतिनिबालङ्कारभूषिताम्). Both these authors are from 6th cent A D—धर्मकीर्ति coming towards the end of the 6th century A. D So सुवन्दु must have flourished after 600 A D. (2) वामन (latter half of 8th century A D) seems to quote a passage from सुवन्दु's वासवदत्ता in his वाक्यलङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति. So also वाक्यतिराज, who composed his गौडवहो between 733 to 753 A D. as Dr Bhandarkar shows, took delight in सुवन्दु's composition. So सुवन्दु should have lived before 733 A D His position in relation to Bāna is dubious, as seen above

(4) मट्टार हरिचन्द्र—Nothing more is known about मट्टार हरिचन्द्र except his name and that he wrote a prose composition (गद्य वचन). That prose composition is not yet discovered A verse in वाक्यतिराज's गौडवहो (quoted earlier) refers to a हारिचन्द्र वचन which seems to be this very work There is a poem called धर्मशर्माभ्युदय written by a Jain writer named हरिचन्द्र Dr Peterson supplies the following information about a certain हरिचन्द्र " In the beginning of महेश्वर's विश्वप्रकाश, the author traces his lineage to one हरिचन्द्र who was a physician at the court of साहसादक. If there were any other reasons for identifying this साहसादक with the king शशाङक who slew हर्ष's brother, we might find our हरिचन्द्र here, and regard him as one of the authors in virtue of whose writings श्रीसाहसादक, like श्रीहर्ष, stands amongst the poets (cp " भातीरामिलमोमिठी .. सर्वोपि ते " from राजशेखर's शाङ्गधरपदति, quoted above) ". We feel that this हरिचन्द्र, a protege of शशाङक, an enemy of emperor हर्ष can hardly be one referred to with such honour by बाण, हर्ष's

protege, in ordinary commonsense considerations, irrespective of his poetic merits or otherwise !

(5) सातवाहन—Generally सातवाहन is identified with हाल, the author of गायसप्तशती (सत्तमई). The गायसप्तशती is an anthology of Prakrit verses, mainly having love themes, and technically is called a कोपग्रन्थ. Bāṇa also has called it as such. साहित्यदर्पण VI 329-330 defines कोप as “ कोप इलोकसमूहस्तु स्वादन्योन्यानपेक्षकः प्रज्वानमेण रचितः स एवातिमनोरमः ॥ ” Also cp काव्यादर्श I 13 According to some, हाल is the author of the work, according to others he is the compiler. His date is not exactly known. The क्वासरित्सागर informs us that सातवाहन was the king of प्रतिष्ठान and गुणादय the author of the famous पैशाची work बृहत्कथा was his minister. The identification of सातवाहन (Pr सालाहण) with हाल is supported by many authorities (cp “ सालाहणम्मि हालो ”—देशीनाममाला (VIII 66) of हेमचन्द्र, “ हाल स्यात्सातवाहनः ”—अभिवानचिन्नामणि, क्षीरस्वामिन् quotes several verses enumerating the names of famous emperors of old, amongst which he mentions : “ हाल स्याच्छाशलिवाहन ” Mm. Kane thinks that हाल is an abbreviated form of the Prakrit सालाहण (स् and ह are often interchanged even in modern vernaculars like the Gujarati)

(6) प्रवरसेन's सेतुबन्ध—Bāṇa obviously is referring to the famous Prakrit poem सेतुबन्ध by प्रवरसेन in हर्षो intro verse 14. There is a tradition which makes कालिदास as the author of सेतुबन्ध which was ascribed by him to his patron प्रवरसेन. Others hold that कालिदास was a co-author with प्रवरसेन in case of सेतुबन्ध. Bāṇa makes no suggestion of कालिदास's sole or joint authorship. The राजतरङ्गिणी mentions several Kings of Kashmir, that had the name प्रवरसेन. In राजतरङ्गिणी III 125-323 we are told how at the behest of हर्षो-विजयमहिय of उज्जयिनी, मातृगुप्त (=कालिदास acc to some, an identification that has hardly anything to commend itself) was made king of Kashmir, how on abdication by मातृगुप्त at हर्षो's death, प्रवरसेन II ascended the Kashmir throne and how he generously treated मातृगुप्त. Dandin has referred to (प्रवरसेन's) सेतुबन्ध cp. काव्यादर्श I 34 (महाराष्ट्राश्रया भागा प्रकृष्ट प्राकृत विदुः । मत्सर मुक्तिरत्नाना सेतुबन्धादि यन्मम ॥) Mm. Kane suggests that प्रवरसेन, the author of सेतुबन्ध,

may have been a चाकाटक king We have references to two प्रवरसेनस of चाकाटक family (cp Chammak and Sivani copperplate grants—C I I III pp 235, 243) Prin Mm Mirashi has later cogently argued for this view (cp his work "Kalidasa" in Marathi, also he has several articles and a separate treatise on the Vakatakas).

(7) Bhasa —The Bhasa problem is now quite well-discussed. We need not enter into details thereof Bhasa was one of our greatest dramatists and his dramas had considerable literary and dramatic merit The very fact that he has elicited a meed of praise from Kalidasa and Bana is a high praise in itself Dr Peterson believed that Bhasa was a contemporary or immediate predecessor of Bana (cp Intro p 71) and that सूत्रधारकृतारम्भनाटकस were a novelty in Bana's days (cp Intro p 80) But Kalidasa's remarks about Bhasa as a प्रथितयशस कवि and himself as पतमालकवि, and the fact that Bana regards Kalidasa as an eminent predecessor of himself, would show that Dr Peterson has erred. Bhasa must have preceded Kalidasa by some generations

(8) Kalidasa —Kalidasa is also too well known to require any special discussion here Dr Peterson thought Kalidasa to be a contemporary of Bana (see Intro p 81) But the way in which Bana has referred to Kalidasa would show that Kalidasa must have preceded Bana by a long interval

(9) बृहत्कथा— A famous work in the पेशाची dialect, ascribed to गुणादय, the बृहत्कथा is unfortunately not extant But it was definitely available in the 11th and 12th centuries A D Because we have two abridgements of the work in Sanskrit viz सोमदेव's कथा-सारित्सागर (12th cent A D) and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (11th cent A D) Somadeva tells us in his work 'यथामूल तथैवैतन्न मना-गप्यतिक्रम । प्रथविस्तरसक्षपमात्र भाषा च भिद्यते ॥' -I 1, 10 A third redaction of the ancient बृहत्कथा was issued by a French scholar M Lacote See J R A S for 1906 p 689 for a Tamil work based upon the बृहत्कथा In कथासारित्सागर-लम्बक 1, chapters 6 and 7, we are told how गुणादय was a minister of king सासवाहन of Deccan He once had a wager, which he lost and consequently abandoned the use of Sanskrit Prakrits or Deśabhāṣas । He went to Vindhya forest, learnt the पेशाची language and wrote a work of

seven lakhs of verses in that language, in his own blood. The work was not heeded or appreciated by the king; and so गुणादय began to read the work page by page in the forest, and consign each page read to fire. It was only when only one lakh verses had remained that the king sent for गुणादय; so that much portion was saved. बृहत्कथा was definitely existing before 600 A. D. as Bāṇa's reference to it shows. Dandin and Subandhu also have referred to बृहत्कथा. It is not wrong to state that बृहत्कथा, along with रामायण and महाभारत, has supplied basic nuclei for several works of later generations of authors. We now give a list of select quotations about बृहत्कथा from ancient authors:— (i) “कथा हि सर्वभाषामिः संस्कृतेन च वक्ष्यते । भूतभाषामयी प्राङ्गुरन्भूतार्या बृहत्कथाम् ॥ —काव्यादर्श I 38 (ii) “अपूर्वा बृहत्कथा मया धृता प्रत्यसोचिता च” “बृहत्कथारम्भेतिव मातृमन्त्रिणोपेतेः”, “बृहत्कथानु-वन्विन इव गुणादया.” —all from वासवदत्ता (iii) “महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथानु-वलेन —वाटम्बरी (iv) “इत्याद्यसोपमिह वस्तुविभेद-चात् रामायणादि च विभाव्य बृहत्कथा च । आनूत्रयेत्तदनु नेतरसानुगुण्यां चित्रां कथामुचितचारवचःप्रपञ्चैः ॥” —दशरूपक of घनञ्जय (v) नमिसायु commenting upon वाव्यालङ्कार II 12 of रघुट says: तथा प्राकृतमेव किञ्चिद्विज्ञेपात् पंशाचिकम् ।... द्रव्यादयोग्येपि प्राकृतविहिता व्यञ्जनादेना म श्रियन्ते ते च बृहत्कथादिलक्ष्यदर्शनाज्ज्ञेयाः । (p. 14 of Nirṇayasāgara edn). (vi) “गश्चद्वाणद्विनीयेन नमदाकारचारिणा । घनुषेव गुणाद्येन निज्ञेपो रञ्जितो जनः ॥—नलचम्पू I 14. (vii) अतिवीर्येण विदोराद् व्यासेन यतोपहा-रित इत् । केनोच्येत गुणादयः स नून जन्मजन्मान्तरापन्नः ॥, श्रीरामायणभारत-बृहत्कथाना कवीशमस्तुर्भः ॥, “पूर्वविभिन्नवृत्ता गुणाद्यप्रभववृत्तिवाणरघुकारैः । वाग्देवीं भजतो मम सन्तः पश्यन्तु की दायः ॥—आर्षानुष्ठगती of गोवर्धन, Intro st. 33, 34 and 60. (viii) ‘चित्रायी न बृहत्कथामवकथम्’— quoted in कुचलयानन्द under परिक्तर (p. 72 of Nirṇayasāgara edition) (ix) The verse समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रभायना । हरलीलिव नो कस्य विष्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥—हर्षचरित of वाण Intro v. 17.

(10) आटवरान्न- Who is this आटवरान्न, and what are his ‘दत्ताहः’ is a problem. Some say आटवरान्न is a proper name of a poet., some say it is not; Thus for example Dr Peterson thinks that आटवरान्न is not a proper name (cp. Introduction to वाट० p. '96).

He thinks आढ्यराज practically the same as आद्यराज, and उत्साह according to him means 'brave deeds'. Some MSS actually read आद्यराज which seems to be a conscious emendation to escape the difficulty of explaining आढ्यराज. One edition tries to escape the difficulty of explaining 'उत्साह' and reads कृतोच्छवासं (regarding in this case आढ्यराज as the poet's name and उच्छवास's, chapters in his work). But this also seems to be a conscious emendation. Pischel thought आढ्यराज was हर्ष himself (J R A S for 1903 p 830). Keith holds a similar opinion. But there is no plausible support to this view. But looking to the fact that Bana, in earlier verses, is referring to several eminent authors and, or their works, आढ्यराज obviously seems to be a proper name of some author and the उत्साहs seem to be the chapters in his work. But we do not know anything about the poet his work or time, beyond his name & the name of his chapters. That आढ्यराज is the proper name of a person is corroborated by this following verse from सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण vol I p 136 Benares edition "केऽभून्नाढ्यराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः । काले श्रीसाहसाडस्य केन सस्कृतभाषिणः ॥" The commentator रत्नेश्वर commenting on this verse says that आढ्यराज is another name of शालिवाहन who encouraged the study of Prakrit and साहसादक stands for विग्रह. One difficulty against accepting these identifications is that Bana has already, in an earlier verse (13) praised सातवाहन alias शालिवाहन. Secondly who are the उत्साहs of him? Some try to see a sarcastic reference to the 'encouragement (उत्साह) (1)' afforded by सातवाहन to the famous गुणाढ्य. But one does not see any need by Bana to have this sarcastic fling against a great king who lived centuries before him. The common सङ्केत takes आढ्यराज to be a poet and explains उत्साह as 'beating time in dancing' (उत्साहो नृत्ते तालविशेषः). Then he enumerates the explanations of some others "उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपचारात्साव्यमपि उत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थं उपदिश्यते पश्चात् स एव गद्येन वितन्यते मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति स परिसमाप्तार्थं उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।"

CHAPTER III

ABOUT EMPEROR HARṢA

“ हेमनो भारतातानि वा मदमुचा वृन्दानि वा दन्तिना
श्रीहर्षेण समपितानि नवमे वाणाय जुनाथ तत् ।
या वाणेन तु तस्य सुविनिकरैरट्टिकता कीर्तये
स्ता कल्पप्रलयेऽपि यान्ति न मनाद् मन्ये परिप्लानताम् ॥”

—काव्यप्रकाशटीकाया सारसमुच्चयाख्यायाम्.

Emperor Harṣa (also known as हर्षवर्षन, श्रीहर्ष or हर्षदेव) is a famous king of ancient India, and a famous author as well. He belonged to the house of स्थानेश्वर, which came to the forefront after the eclipse of the Guptas. We are fortunate to get considerable details about his life and times from (1) Bana's Harṣacarita which delineates the early life and deeds of Harṣa (2) Writing of Chinese authors, particularly Hsuen Tsang (3) The numerous inscriptions of Harṣa himself and his contemporaries and (4) information culled from Harṣa's own works, or references to him or his age from other books. We shall sum up in this chapter the salient details about the king and his times. Readers interested in fuller details can get them in Mr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India.

The Predecessors of Harṣa.—A remote ancestor of हर्ष was पुष्यमति, whose personality and achievements Bana describes in considerable details in the Harṣacarita. Between him and Prabhakaravardhana (Harṣa's father), intervened several kings. The Madhuban copperplate of Harṣa (see E. I. Vol. II p. 155 and also E. I. Vol. I p. 67) and the Banskhera copperplate of Harṣa (cp. E. I. Vol. IV p. 208 ff) furnish the following genealogical details —

नरवर्धन = नजिणीदेवी

राज्यवर्धन I = अप्सरोदेवी

आदित्यवर्धन = महासेनगुप्ता

प्रभाकरवर्धन = यशोमती

राज्यवर्धन II

हर्ष

राज्यधी

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of हर्षवर्धन (C I I Vol III p 231 ff), though much defaced confirms the statements made in the Madhuban and Banskhera copperplates. The Banskhera plate has an autograph of Harṣa which reads स्व ह स्तो म म म हा रा जा धि रा ज धी ह र्षे स्य

The family deity of this dynasty was the sun पुष्पमूर्ति is described as परमादित्यभक्त, नरवर्धन is designated as महाराज, राज्यवर्धन I as महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त, आदित्यवर्धन is styled महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त. प्रभाकरवर्धन's designations are परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज and परमादित्यभक्त. He is referred to as a sovereign ruler of the whole world girt by the four oceans. राज्यवर्धन II is also styled as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज. But he carried the title परमसौगत showing his Buddhist faith, when young राज्यवर्धन came to the throne he faced an immediate task of taking revenge of the murder of his brother-in-law the मौलरि गृहवर्मा husband of राज्यधी, by the king of Malwa. Rajyavardhana defeated the Malwa king, but was himself murdered by the latter's ally दशार्जुन, king of central Bengal. राज्यवर्धन is also said to have conquered kings like देवगुप्त, and is described as a universal sovereign. Rajyavardhana was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Haravardhana at the age of 16, in October 606 A D (His coronation, however, took place in 612 A D). Harṣa is designated as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परमनाट्टवर.

More Historical Details — It is from the reign from प्रभाकरवर्धन onwards that we get considerably more information

Bāṇa gives a lot of information with a free mixture of legend and ornate descriptions, and Hiuen Tsang's account also begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन. Hiuen Tsang was indeed one of the greatest travellers of the world and has left extensive memoirs of his travels in Chinese, which are now available to us in translations mainly through the industry of that distinguished Chinese scholar, M. Stanislas Julien. In these Hiuen Tsang speaks of a powerful king who was the emperor of northern India and who, there can be no reasonable doubt, is identical with Bāṇa's patron Harṣa, the hero of Harṣacarita. (For Hiuen Tsang's account of Harṣa vide an abstract of Julien's two works appeared in J. R. A. S., vol. XVII pp. 106-137, also Indian Antiquary vol. VIII pp. 196-202.)

As said above, Hiuen Tsang's account begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन. The kingdom of स्वाप्तीश्वर where he ruled must have been originally not very large. It was surrounded by petty states, which waged constant wars amongst themselves. हर्ष's ancestors preceding हर्षवर्धन are styled simply as महाराज. It is प्रभाकरवर्धन who is styled महाराजाधिराज for the first time. Bāṇa tells us that he had conquered the kings of सिन्धु, गुर्जर, गान्धार and मालव, and he had also conquered the हूणस (cp. तपु चैवमूल्याद्यमानेषु ऋणेणोदपादि हूणहरिण-केसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गुजरप्रजागरो गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकली लाटपाट-वपाटच्चरो मालववल्दमीलतापरसु प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः । हर्षचरित IV). But the conquest against the हूणस does not seem to be then very decisive, because towards the close of प्रभाकरवर्धन's reign, राज्यवर्धन had to be sent against the हूणस. And प्रभाकरवर्धन died before राज्यवर्धन could return from that expedition. He was succeeded by राज्यवर्धन, who was the elder brother of हर्षवर्धन (see B. R. W. W. Vol. I p. 210). When राज्यवर्धन came to throne he must have been about 19 or 20 years old. The elder of the two गुप्त princes, companions of राज्यवर्धन and हर्षवर्धन, कुमारगुप्त was about eighteen years old then. So also when राज्यवर्धन returned from his हूण expedition, there was a slight growth of hair on his chin. Harṣa was about 4 years junior to राज्यवर्धन and राज्यधी about two years junior to हर्ष. So at the time of प्रभाकरवर्धन's death हर्ष was about 16 and राज्यधी about 14, and the हर्षचरित often has referred to them as बाल or बाला respectively (cp.

यदि बाल इति नितरा तर्हि न परिस्थायोर्ज्जिम'—p 317, बाल एवाखण्डल-
भूमिमारुह'—p 361, 'इय च न स्वसा बाला च बहुदु सखेदिता च ।
—p 449, also cp. V A Smith's Early History of India p 312
(2nd edn) प्रभाकरवर्धन is said to have died in 605 A. D. Harṣa
then must have been born about 590 A. D., and he acceded the
throne in 606 A. D. C. V. Vaidya, calculating from astronomical
data furnished by बाण shows that हर्ष was born on 4th June 590
A. D. (see J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV pp. 252-4)

Thus when प्रभाकरवर्धन died his children were very young, the
senior and heir-apparent राज्यवर्धन being about 19 or 20 years of age.
राज्यवर्धन had no inclination for kingship and wanted to pass on
the burden to Harṣa, who was equally keen not to oblige. But just
then a catastrophe again struck the family. ग्रहवर्मा the husband
or राज्यश्री was killed by a king of Malavā राज्यवर्धन immediately
marched against him with a small but picked force under Bhaṅgin
and routed him as the हर्षचरित tells us. But we are not told about
the identity of this मालव king. In हर्ष's inscriptions we find राज्यवर्धन
stated to have vanquished a king named देवगुप्त. राज्यवर्धन's regime
was very very short, and probably his only battle after inheriting
the throne must have been with the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा. This made
Dr. Bühler conjecture that the murderer was देवगुप्त. This plausible
conjecture is further strengthened by a reference in हर्षचरित which
mentions that कान्यकुब्ज, ग्रहवर्धन's capital, was sieged by a गुप्त (cp.
गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुञ्जरचले—p 395). Dr. Hoernle does not approve of
Dr. Bühler's conjecture. Two difficulties against that conjecture are
(1) How is that the two Malavā princes कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त are
treated with such confidence in the हर्ष family (cp. राजा पृष्ठो
नियण्णस्य मालवराजगुप्तोरकथयत् ।—p 129, सर्वेभिर्दोषाभिपद्गरे रमद्गतौ वदधो-
पधाभिः परीक्षितौ सूची विनीतौ विश्वान्तावभिष्टपा मालवराजगुप्तो म्प्रातरी भुजाविब-
भे शरीरादभ्यतिरिक्तौ कुमारगुप्तमाधवगुप्तनामानावस्माभिर्भवतोरनुचरत्त्वाप्यंमिमौ
निदिष्टौ ।—p p 229-230 "अवलम्ब्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन च माधवगुप्तममे"—
p 413). If they were any way related to the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा
they would have been objects of suspicion rather than confidence,
specially after that murder. (2) Secondly the imprisoned राज्यश्री
was released from imprisonment by a certain noble called गुप्त

(cp वाग्यकुब्जात् गौडराज्ये गुप्तित गुप्तनाम्ना कुम्भुत्रेण निष्कासनम्—p 438) We feel that there were more than one गुप्त families ruling small territories in Malwa then, and देवगुप्त, the murderer as Dr Buher conjectures might be one of these several गुप्त kings.

But this Devagupta, king of Malwa, and alleged murderer of प्रह्वर्मा is to be clearly distinguished from the distinguished महाराजाधिराज देवगुप्त (689 A D —700 A D) (see Deo Baramark Inscription pp 213, 215), who was the maternal grandfather of the चाकटक king Pravarasena II (vide Chammak and Sivani copperplate inscriptions in C I Vol III pp 240 and 247), as Mm Kane asserts (Prin Mirashi would place Pravarasena II in 5th cent A D)

Though राज्यवधन, as said above routed the Malava king who had murdered he प्रह्वर्मा, he himself was treacherously murdered by a गौड king according to the ह्यचरित Bana does not mention the name of the murderer (cp आमनाम गुरोदान नामातिवृषणस्य च । थ्येस्वामी न गृह्णीयाज्ज्येष्ठापत्यवलत्रयो ॥) One ms of ह्यचरित names the killer as नरदगुप्त (cp E I Vol I p 70) The commentator of the ह्यचरित names him as शशाङ्क Hiuen Tsang corroborates this because according to him She shang kia (शशाङ्क), king of Kamasuvarṇa (Bengal) murdered राज्यवधन (B R W W Vol I p 210) Bana also seems to make a veiled reference to the murderer's name being शशाङ्क (cp प्रकटकलहकमुदयमान विशाङ्कटविषाणी-स्कीणपद्मसदकरशङ्करशकुरशङ्करककुडकूटमद.शाशमकाशनाकाशे शशाङ्क-मण्डलम्—। p 306 Uc VI)

Bana tells us that ह्य ascended the throne immediately after the murder of his elder brother But Hiuen Tsang gives us a so newhat different information According to him minister-Bhandin recommended to other ministers the choice of Harsa as king They gladly acceded But Harsa had his own scruples and hesitated for a while C V Vaidya observes that Harsa had no compunction to ascend the throne of स्यातश्वर, but he had scruples to ascend that of Kanau; which legally belonged to राज्यश्री, and which was offered to him So he consulted a Buddhistic Oracle (वीधिसख अवशक्तिश्वर) as Hiuen Tsang tells us (see B R W W Vol I pp 211-213) And it was ordained that राज्यश्री should rule

and Harṣa be her lieutenant. Harṣa then transferred his capital from ह्यानेश्वर to Kanauj. Mr. V. A. Smith has remarked: "Some unknown obstacle stood in the way of Harṣa's accession and compelled him to rely for his title to the crown upon election by the nobles rather than upon his hereditary claims [cp. *Early History of India* (2nd edn.), p. 312]. We think C. V. Vaidya has fairly plausibly explained the situation. The consultation by Harṣa of the Buddhistic oracle seems to be created by Buddhist admirers of Harṣa. We should also note that Bhaṣḍin was not just a minister, but a close relative (maternal uncle's son) of Harṣa and was a very intimate friend of his. In age he was slightly senior to राज्यवर्धन.

Harṣa had two immediate tasks before him, when he came to the throne viz. (i) finding out राज्यवर्धनी and (ii) avenging the murder of राज्यवर्धन. He first recovered his sister, who had resorted to the jungles of the Vindhya mountain. And then followed a long period of conquest, wherein in about six years, he conquered all kings of Northern India, including शशाङ्क. In this period he made himself the overlord of the whole of Northern India including Gujerat from the Himalayas to the Narmadā and from the Bay of Bengal to Sindh. And he was crowned as a king in 612 A. D. and established an era in that year to commemorate his दिग्विजय.

He had a long reign of about 42 years and was the last Hindu Emperor of Northern India. Some of his conquests referred to in the हर्षचरित are his conquest over the king of सिन्धु and his securing taxes from Himalayan territories. cp "अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन सिन्धुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीरामोदृता । ... अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशीलगुवो दुर्गायां गृहीतः करः" हर्ष० p. 147-8

About his relations with गुप्त much has already been discussed above. About his two boyhood companions कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त, the two मालव princes, we do not hear much later on. But he seems to have crowned कुमारगुप्त, the elder of those two cp अत्र देहेनाभिविक्त कुमार १—हर्ष० p 148 and the comm. thereon. माधवगुप्त, the younger of the two मालव princes, and a special

favourite of हर्ष was probably crowned as the king of Magadha (cp. The Apsad stone inscription which speaks of माधवगुप्त of मगध who was anxious to meet the glorious हर्ष (cp. C. I. Vol. III p. 200, 204 शोहर्षदेवनिजसत्तमवाच्छया च ।) For further information about the Guptas of Magadha see Dr. Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' (pp. 200-218). Kubera, one of Bāṇa's ancestors was honoured by several गुप्तः. cp. अनेकानुष्ठानिषतपादपद्मजः कुबरेनामाश इव स्वयमुवः ॥' Kād. Int. Ver. 10

Another royal family with whom Harṣa came in close contact was the मौसरिः His sister राज्यधी was married to ब्रह्मवर्मा son of यदन्तीवर्मा of the मौसरि family, whose capital was at कान्यकुब्ज. Bāṇa informs us that the मौसरिः were a very eminent family of क्षत्रियः and were great devotees of Śiva. For more particulars about मौसरिः, see Dr. Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp 219-230. The name of the family is spelt as मौसरि or मौसर. For the word मौसरि cp. Kād Intro V. 4 "नमामि सर्वोच्चरत्नाम्बुजद्वयसरोसरैर्मौसरिभिः कृतानेनम् ।" and the words 'शर्ववर्मा मौसरि' from the Asirgad Copper plate of स्रववर्मान् (C. I. Vol. III p. 220). For the word 'मौसर' cp 'मौसराना ममजाम' from the Jaunpur stone inscription of ईश्वरवर्मान् (C. I. Vol. III p 229). The मौसरिः and गुप्तः were often at war (see Apsad stone inscription-C. I. Vol. III pp. 200, 203.)

Harṣacarita tells us that King Kumāra alias Bhaskaravarman of Prāgyotīśa (Assam) had formed a close friendship with हर्ष just on the eve of Harṣa's career of world-conquest. Hsuen Tsang corroborates this information when he tells us how once Harṣa and Kumārārāja kept company in a journey towards Kanauj, with Harṣa going along the northern bank of the Ganga and कुमारराज the southern bank (B. R. W. W. Vol I pp 217-218, see also Vol. II pp 196-198)

Harṣa's one and only defeat came at the hands of king Pulakeśin II the greatest of the Calukyas of Badami, on the banks of Narmada, in 620 A. D. Pulakeśin II was the lord of South India, just as Harṣa was of North India (see B. R. W. W. Vol II pp 256-257, V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India' p 313). The battle between the two great monarchs was a very great and a very

close battle The victor as well as the vanquished lost heavily therein and they agreed to make Narmadā as their dividing boundary. Harṣa thus remained in possession of entire Northern India from Himālayas to Narmadā and from Kamarūpas to Gujarat and Saurashtra There are various inscriptional references to this episode cp. "अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेनामकुटमणिमयूखा-
क्रान्तपादारविन्द । युधि पतितगजेन्द्रानीकबीभक्तभूतो भयव्यालितहर्षो येन
चाकारि हर्ष ॥—E I Vol 6 p 6 and I A. Vol. VIII p 242, 'समर-
रासक्तसकलोरारापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेस्वरापरनामधेयस्य सत्वा-
श्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरस्य प्रियतनय"—I A Vol VI
p 76, the words 'समर ..नामधेय' recur on p 86 *ibid*, In I. A. Vol. VIII p 13 सत्याश्रय is spoken of as 'जेतुदिशा विजितहर्षमहा-
नृपस्य ।'. Harṣa last campaign on record is that of subjugating the district of Ganjam on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in 643 A. D.

Acc. to Hiuen Tsang, Kānyakubja was the capital of Harṣa (B R W. W. Vol I p 209) Bāṇa mentions that Harṣa's family capital was श्याश्वीश्वर. The explanation of this discrepancy probably is that when Hiuen Tsang met Harṣa (probably about 643 A. D.) Kānyakubja must have been one of the capitals of Harṣa's vast empire After ब्रह्मवर्मा was killed and राज्यश्री became a Buddhist convert, the kingdom of Kānyakubja seems to have passed on to Harṣa and Kānyakubja, more centrally situated in Harṣa's vast empire, seems to have been made a second capital thereof.

According to Hiuen Tsang Harṣa belonged to the Vaiśya caste. But probably he is confusing the vaiśya caste with the Brāhmin class of the Rajputs who were Kṣatriyas (B R. W. W. Vol. I p. 209, n 129) Because Harṣa seems to be a क्षत्रिय and not a वैश्य for the following reasons:—(1) Bāṇa never suggests that Harṣa was not a क्षत्रिय (2) राज्यश्री was married to ब्रह्मवर्मा a scion of the famous and ancient katriya family of मोरारिः (3) Harṣa's mother यशोमती seems to be born in a family known for heroism and religion cp. 'घर्मघवले कुले जाता हर्षं V p 283, वीरजा वीरजाया वीरजननी च' etc. हर्ष V. p 284) Some scholars feel she might be the daughter of यशोवर्धन विजयादित्य of Ujjayini Her parents were probably living when she courted death (cp. 'अगद सान न पश्यन् पापी परलोकात्स्थिता

माम्—हर्ष V. p 281) (4) प्रमावत्स्वयं's mother महासेनापुत्रा seems to have been the sister of महासुनुपुत्र of मगध.

Harṣa established an era of his own which commenced in 606 A D and several inscriptions dated in this era have been recovered (see I A Vol 26, p 32, and E. I Vol V Appendix p 73 ff) Alberuni's account of this era, as Mm Kane notes, is most confusing According to Alberuni (1) Harṣa's era was used in Mathurā and the country of Kanōj (2) An interval of 400 years separates श्रीहर्ष and विजयनादिप But according to Kashmirian calendar the era of श्रीहर्ष was 664 years later than विजयनादिप [Vide Alberuni ed. by Sachau Vol II p 5 (Trübner) and Cunningham's 'Indian Eras' pp 64-65]

Harṣa was the last great Hindu King of Northern India. His sister राज्यश्री, assuming yellow robes, was a devoted companion and counsellor to Harṣa. Harṣa left no heir behind and the empire broke up after his death in 648 A. D. (647 A D according to Prof Kangle).

Harṣa as a King and Administrator.-After the conquest of Northern India and subsequent coronation in 612 A D Harṣa ruled his kingdom for 35 years, marked by peace, progress, prosperity and piety The unsuccessful war with Pulakeṣin II and the successful subjugation of Gaṅgjam were the only military undertakings during that period. All the northern India was under his sway and his suzerainty was accepted by rulers of Valabhi, Nepal and Assam.

Harṣa was a strong, vigorous and benevolent ruler Indefatigable like Aśoka in discharge of his duties the king often toured his realm, supervising the work of his officers Education was widely diffused and Brahmanical āśramas and Buddhistic monasteries were richly endowed Harṣa got built several temples, monasteries śūpas and dharmāśālas. In the dharmāśālas not only food and drink was provided for the needy but even doctors attended on the sick.

In point of religion Harṣa was a very tolerant person The Madhuban copper plate describes him as वरमहादेव (a great devotee

of Śiva), but later or in his life he was strongly inclined towards Buddhism, particularly under the moulding influence of his sister राज्ञ्श्री and the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. But Harṣa did not lose his reverence for Śiva or sun. He has built costly temples in honour of Buddha, Śiva and the sun. All these three deities were worshipped at his assembly, and his charity was enjoyed by Brahmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains alike.

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in quest of Buddhist scriptures stayed in Harṣa's dominions for 8 years (635 A D —643 A D). He has left extensive memoirs of that Age and life and work of Harṣa. Harṣa fell under the influence of this " Master of Law " in whose honour a grand assembly was held at Kanauj, the capital, the aim of which was to proclaim the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism as expounded by Hiuen Tsang. After this assembly he was called to another great assembly at Prayag,—the sixth of the quinquennial assemblies at which Harṣa used to distribute treasures to holy men of different religions—Buddhists, Hindus and Jainas—and the poor and the destitute. Harṣa did not live to hold another such assembly.

Harṣa as a poet and patron of Literature—Harṣa was not only a great warrior and administrator but a great man of letters and a great patron of learning. He is the author of three dramas—*प्रियदर्शिका*, *रत्नावली* and *नगानन्द*, which though not on par with the masterpieces of Kalidasa or Bhavabhūti are still quite good dramas and " they have a peculiar simplicity, correctness and charm which have endeared them to the writers on works of dramaturgy " The *Nāgānanda* has a Buddhistic bias.

Besides these three dramas हर्ष is credited with the authorship of the *सुप्रभातस्तोत्र* and *अष्टमहाश्रीक्षेत्रस्तोत्र* two Sanskrit poems with Buddhistic subject-matter, which in the colophon bear the name श्रीहर्ष (But in the Tibetan Tanjur and in Minayeff's Mss the former is ascribed to king हर्षदेव of काश्मीर—*vide* J. R. A. S. for 1903 p. 704) These are printed in Maurice Ettinghausen's ' *Harṣa - Vardhana* ' Besides these about a dozen occasional stanzas, not found in his extant works are ascribed to his name. In the Madhuban inscription a verse composed by

श्रीहर्षं is quoted (कर्मणां मनसा वाचा वर्तव्य प्राणिने हितम् । हर्षेणैतन्
समाख्यात धर्मात्रंनमनुत्तमम् ॥ ”—this being हर्ष’s advice to his subjects)
And the verse descriptive of राजवर्षेण in the same inscription may
be from Harṣa’s pen as Mm Kane thinks क्षीरस्वामिन् a commen-
tator on Am arako, a has mentioned a कौशवार हर्ष (cp सङ्घातमृत्यु-
मंरक मरिमारी च देवतेति श्रीहर्ष. on आतुरोऽन्वमितोऽभ्यान्त). The सुभाषिता-
वलि cites a verse of श्रीहर्षं which is not found in his extant works cp.
“अशठमलोलमजिह्वा श्यागिनमनुरागिण विशेषतम् । यदि नाशयति नर शो. श्रीरेव
हि वञ्चिता तत्र ॥”—No. 233 in सुभाषितावलि The same verse occurs
as No 470 in the शास्त्रगंधरपद्धति without specifying the author.
Jayadava in his प्रसन्नराघव I 20 has called हर्षं as “ the joy of Poesy. ’

Harṣa was a great patron of literature. His munificent patronage was enjoyed by वाण, मयूर, मातङ्गदिवाकर and others. In सुभाषितावलि we have a verse of मयूर in which a certain unnamed king—ostensibly हर्षं—is praised (cp No 2515 — “ भूपाला शशि.
मास्करान्वयनुव वे नाम नासादिता भर्तार पुनरेवमेव हि भुवस्ता देव मन्वामहे ।
पेनाद्रग परिमृष्य कुन्तलमयाहृष्य व्युदस्वायतं चोळ प्राप्य च मध्यदेशमधुना
वाञ्छ्या कर पातित ॥”) In will be noticed that the wordsअद्रा, कुन्तल,
चोळ मध्यदेश and वाञ्छी are paronomastic) We have quoted at the
the beginning of this chapter a verse from गारुडमूच्य, a commentary
on the Kāvya-prakāśa, in which verse Harṣa’s liberality towards
Baja is praised

Harṣa’s Date —We have already discussed in Chap II how
Harṣa’s date is historically quite definite. Evidence from Indian
sources (literary and inscriptional) and from Chinese sources,
yields exact chronological details about Harṣa. He was born on
4th June 590 A. D., and reigned from 606 A. D. to 648 A. D. The
details about ‘ Harṣa’s date ’ need not be repeated over here,
for these are fully covered in chapter II while discussing Bajā’s
Date

CHAPTER IV

BĀṆA'S WORKS

“ रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदा रमभाखली जगन्मनो हरति ।
तर्क सङ्गी, नहि, नहि, चापी वाणस्य मधुरसीलस्य ॥ ”

—पर्मदासकृते विदग्धमुखमण्डने

Bāṇa is the master of Sanskrit गद्यवाच्य as Kālidāsa is the master of Sanskrit पद्यवाच्य and दृश्यकाव्य. And as soon as one speaks of Bāṇa, one inevitably thinks of his two well-known prose masterpieces viz (1) The Harṇacarita (an Ākhyāyikā) and (2) The Kadambari (a Kathā). The two are the well known works of Bāṇa and we shall be devoting the next two chapters (V and VI) for a detailed study of these two. Naturally in this chapter we would discuss about some other works which are ascribed to Bāṇa's authorship, with a greater or lesser degree of authenticity in individual cases.

A third work ascribed to Bāṇa is the चण्डीशतक. It is a work containing a hundred verses in शार्ङ्गबिन्दुदित metre, in which goddess Caṇḍī, a form of Kālī, is praised. In every verse there is a reference to some incident in the fight between काली and महिषासुर. Its source is the देवीमाहात्म्य (ch 80) of the मार्कण्डेयपुराण. There is nothing implausible in Bāṇa's having composed an encomium to Caṇḍī, because चण्डी is a form of लक्ष्मी for whom Bāṇa has a great regard. In his कादम्बरी also Bāṇa has given a powerful and picturesque description of the temple of चण्डिका. Verses from चण्डीशतक are quoted in the सूर्यश्रीरत्नाभरण काव्यप्रकाश and अर्जुनवर्मदेव टीका on अमरशतक अर्जुनवर्मदेव (p 3) expressly ascribes the authorship of Caṇḍīśataka to Bāṇa cp “उमनिवद्ध च भट्टवाणेनेवविभ एव सशाम प्रस्तावे देव्यारतद्मदिगभिर्भगवता भवेण सह प्रीतिप्रविपादनान बहुधा नमं यथा दृष्टाकासत्तद्वृष्टि & c (v 37 of चण्डीशतक). ‘The Caṇḍīśataka of Bāṇa, the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra and the Bhaktāmarastotra of Mānātunga’ says Dr Peterson “are the three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harṇa's protection.” There are commentaries on Caṇḍīśataka by Dhaneśvara, by Nagojibhāṭṭa by Bhaskararaya and another anonymous.”

[A fourth work ascribed to Bāṇa is a शिवगतक or शिवस्तुति, which is an encomium of Lord Śiva and praises his victory over त्रिपुरासुर.]

A fifth work ascribed to Bāṇa is a drama entitled मुकुटाडितक. चन्द्रदीप and गुणविजयानि, the commentators of the नलचम्पू of त्रिविक्रमहट्ट, make a citation from a drama मुकुटाडितक composed by बाण—cp " यदाह मुकुटाडितकनाटके बाण — 'जायाः प्रोपिनदिग्गजा इव गुहाः प्रध्वंसनिहा इव श्रेण्य इत्तमहादुमा इव नुव प्रोत्तानसंला इव । विद्यायाः क्षयकालरिवत्तमलशैलोक्यकण्ठ्या दशा जात्रा. शीगमहारथा दृग्पतेदेवस्य गुणाः मना ". Bhoja in his शतवारप्रकाश also gives a quotation from it. It has for its theme भीमनन's smashing of Duryodhana with his club. Nothing more is known of this drama from any other sources.

[A sixth work said to have been written by Bāṇa is सर्वचरितनाटक (CC I 368)] We do not know anything about this drama from any other sources

[A seventh work said to be Bāṇa's is a play शारदचन्द्रिका. शारदतन्त्र mentions this play शारदचन्द्रिका by बाण, of which the plot relates to चन्द्रापीड cp. कल्पित भट्टवाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका । दिव्येन मयंस्य यथा वाचस्पत्यावध्वभावता ॥—नाट्यप्रकाश G O S p 252 Durgarūpa mentions शारदचन्द्रिका as an example of लक्ष्मिद्वयकाव्य cp. "चन्द्रापीडम् मरण मत्प्रत्यङ्गजीवनान्द्रिकम् । कल्पित भट्टवाणेन यथा शारदचन्द्रिका ॥"

[An eighth work of Bāṇa is said to be a poetical version of Kādambarī. शंभु in his जीवितचरितचरणा quotes a verse from Bāṇa, describing the plight of love-lorn चादम्बरी, in her separation from चन्द्रापीड cp " यथा वा भट्टवाणस्य—' हारा जलद्वैतमन नलिनीदमनि प्रालेपनीकरमुखस्तुहियानुभा । कल्पेन्वनानि मरुतानि च चन्दनानि निवांषनमति कथं न मनोमवाप्ति. ॥ " अथ विप्रलम्भमरणमर्षयतिः वादम्बरी विरम्बयावर्षानं मापुर्णमोहमायादिगुणवातेन दूषणुववनेन प्रियवशनेन हृदयानन्ददायिनी दयितवतमात्रनेन"—Bombay Edn. p 121 There are other verses also in his कविकण्ठमरण which are referable to similar situations. For all such verses cp Peterson's Sabd 62 68 and Thomas Kav 56-59 e.g. प्रयादनी कल्पेन्वनानि मरुतानि च चन्दनानि निवांषनमति । मरुतानि च चन्दनानि निवांषनमति । मरुतानि च चन्दनानि निवांषनमति । So it may be that Bāṇa wrote a चन्द्रापीड as well. These verses and also other

verses quoted in anthologies as Bana's show that Bana's was good at verse as in prose Dr P L Vaidya, however, says about the above quotation from क्षेमेन्द्र's औ. वि. च. — "कदाचित्क्षेमेन्द्रविरचितात् पद्यकादम्बरीनाम्नो ग्रन्थादेव श्लोको यमुद्धृतः स्यात् ।" We demur in view of क्षेमेन्द्र's wording given above

Bana might have written yet another (ninth) work according to Kṛṣṇamacāriar who says. "Bana was probably also a philosopher, for आनन्दजीविन् in his commentary तत्त्वविवेक on अनुभवानन्द's न्याय-रत्नदीपावलि, gives a reference to a work of बाण on वैदान्त "

Now we come to the पार्वतीपरिणय, a drama ascribed to Bana which has raised a lot of debate about its authorship. Actually in the prologue of the play the author is specifically mentioned to be बाण of the वत्स गोत्र CP अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्साम्बयजलधिसम्भवो बाण । नृत्यति यद्रसनाया वेद्योमुखलासिका वाणी ॥—P P I 4 Our Bana is also a descendant of वत्सगोत्र. And there is no inherent impossibility in his having composed this drama. The subject matter is the same as that of Kalidasa's कुमारसम्भव, and similarities of words and thought between the two works are many, as we [shall notice later on. Some scholars feel, on account of these similarities that Bana could not have written a drama which draws so much on Kalidasa. Some minor plagiarist must have composed the drama. But this is not a convincing argument. There is no wonder if Bana now and then were to draw upon his illustrious predecessor. Particularly in view of the fact that he had a great admiration for Kalidasa and secondly that he was probably a novice at work at that time, such debt is quite plausible. Further the subject matter of पार्वतीपरिणय was very similar to earlier part of the Kumara-sambhava. Have not great writers like Kalidasa and Shakespeare also drawn much on their predecessors? Who can deny Kalidasa's debt to the Ramayana, Bhasa, or Bhagavadgītā, amongst others? Some scholars argue that पार्वतीपरिणय is not Bana's work because it compares unfavourably in thought and style with the हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी. This also is no argument. The पार्वतीपरिणय was written probably when Bana just was finding his way to literary art and finding his bearings. Is not even the Harṣacarita much inferior to Kadambari?

We feel that Parvatiparṇaya seems to be from Bāṇa's pen. Our reasons are (1) There are many ideas and turns of expression which are very similar, in the पार्वतीपरिणय on the one hand and the हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी on the other (a) हिमवान् दधि, अयदपि श्रूयताम् । कुचयुगल परिणद्ध यथा यथा वृद्धिमेति तन्वद्भ्या । वरचिन्ताहृतमनमस्तथा तथा वास्यंमति म गात्रम —॥' पा० I 15 and ' उद्वेगमहावते पातयति पयो धरोन्नमनकाले । मरिदेव तटमनुवर्षं विवर्धमाना सुता पितरम् ॥ दधि, तरपी मूला वसता राज्यश्री यौवनारम्भ एव च नयवानामिषनीभवन्ति पितर सन्नारागलस्य । हृदयमयकाग्र्यति म दिवसमिव पयायरात्रितरस्या ।'—हर्ष IV p 234, (4) नवितथ्यता हि बलवती—पा p 21 and न हि शक्य देव-मन्यथा कर्तुमभियुक्तेनार्प्रि—कादम्बरी p 62 (c) दत्तुन परिजनपरमापोषंस्तोर्प्रि &c पा p 15 and मामपि विकुक्षिनामान मृत्यपरमाणुमदधारयतु भवती हर्ष p 41 (2) There are many broad similarities between पार्वतीपरिणय and हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी (a) The description of preparations of Parvati's marriage in पा V is reminiscent of that of preparations for राज्यश्री's marriage in हर्ष० IV (b) The arrival of Śiva for marriage in पा V is reminiscent of arrival of ब्रह्मर्षि for marriage in हर्ष० IV (c) The devotion of Bāṇa for Śiva is found in Parvatiparṇaya (cp e g P IV 3) as in Harṣacarita or Kadambari. So also the the description of Śiva in पा (p 13) ' तस्य पुन गौरीपरिचरणम् ' is Vedantic in tone as in other works of Bāṇa (3) The prose of the drama, as Mm Kane observes, reminds one of कादम्बरी and हर्षचरित

Mm Kane also, like us, does not agree with those who feel that Bāṇa could not have written the पार्वतीपरिणय, though he would admit the relative inferiority of the पार्वतीपरिणय to the two prose works of Bāṇa. Mm Kane also remarks that Bāṇa was generally handicapped in verse. Mr Kane also feels that पार्वती-परिणय is quite likely to be Bāṇa's composition, though, it must have been his first attempt before his poetical faculties were developed.

Panik R. V. Kṛṣṇamacariar has discussed the authorship of पार्वतीपरिणय in his edition of the drama in Vaidya Vilasa Sanskrit Series, Srirangam and in a paper published in the proceedings of the third All India Oriental Conference of Madras (1974) pp

68 69, and he as attributed the drama to वामनभट्टवाण alias अभिनव वाण, an author of the 15th century A D (who has also composed the नलाभ्युदय, शूडगारभूयणभाण, वेमभूपालचरित etc), on aestheite and historical grounds T Ganapatisastri in his Introduction to Nalabhyudaya also feels likewise Dr Keith also believes that पार्वतीपरिणय is by वामनभट्टवाण of 15th century A D who wrote about 1400 A D under the Reddi prince Vema of Kōṇḍavidu, and says that it owes its fame to its being mistakesn for the work of Bāṇa, He cites the support of R Schmidt, but does not argue his case Mm Kane has the following opinion on the viewpoint of Kṛṣṇamacariar and othres The argument's of these eminent scholars fail to convince One of their main arguments is the non-metion and non-quoting of the पार्वतीपरिणय by writers on poetics. This is a negative argument and proves nothing positive Secondly while attempting to show that the author of the play was वामनभट्ट वाण alias अभिनव वाण, a protege of the Reddi king वेम alias वीरनारायण, they give no explanation as to why the author of the पार्वतीपरिणय calls himself simply as Bāṇa, when वामनभट्ट वाण refers to himself as वामनभट्ट वाण or अभिनव वाण

Now we shall give an Act by Act synopsis of the drama पार्वतीपरिणय and give a few critical remarks thereon

(Act I) We find the drama opening with two Nāṇḍi verses— one in praise of Parvatī's glances at the time of her marriage and the second glorifying the power of cupid—and then after the stage direction नान्यन्ते, the सूत्रधार enters The सूत्रधार pays homage to the pūmeval Divine couple (ostensibly Siva and Pārvatī), scatters a handful of flowers and calls the नटी He tells that they are to present that day a new Rūpakā, which is composed by a famous poet named वाण of the वत्सगोत्र (अग्नि वविमार्गभीमो वत्सान्व यजलविमम्भवो वाण । नृत्यति रद्रसनाया वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥) the drama though new, is bound to succeed, because it has (i) सविधानस्य सामग्र्यम् (ii) रमणा परिवुष्टता and (iii) सदर्भसौकुमार्यम् It is also विचित्रसविधान He learns that his wife is worried about the marriage of their daughter वाञ्छविक्र The सूत्रधार assures that the creator arranges to find out suitable bridegrooms for girls so she need not worry Here, for example, he says, is the divine

sage Narada who is exerting to get the daughter of Himalaya suitably married. And herewith ends the प्रस्तावना and the main scene begins.

Narada enters, travelling by aerial path, planning to bring about the marriage of Parvati (who in earlier birth was दाक्षायणी) and Siva, for the good of the gods (the description of Narada's descent to the earth is very reminiscent of Duryanta's descent in Sak VII). He descends in the precincts of Himalaya, and admires the eminence and majesty of that lord of mountains. He calls at the palace of हिमवान्, and learns that हिमवान् is discussing something with his Queen Mena and decides to see them.

Then are shown Himavan and Mena in discussion, and the topic is the plan for the marriage of their marriageable daughter Gauri (we find here a close similarity to a talk between प्रभाकर-वर्षन and यशोमती about the marriage of their daughter राज्यद्री, in the दृश्यचरित्). While the two are expressing their anxiety about getting their daughter suitably married, Narada ushers himself, and after formal courtesies suggests that Parvati should be married to a worthy bridegroom. He also prophesies that Parvati, who is a reincarnation of a 'पुरातनी रत्निन', would attain a 'विश्व्याधिव' वर, Narada, however, does not mention Siva by name just now. He suggests that Parvati should wait upon Lord Siva, who is practising penance on the slopes of Himalaya. Thus, having introduced the 'seed' of action, Narada leaves Himalaya, guessing what [Narada is working at, leaves with his Queen. They would ask Parvati to follow Narada's advice and here ends the first act.

(Act II) The act opens with a small interlude (Prave'saka, wrongly called विकम्भिका in N. S. P. Edn) in which there is a conversation between दारुतिका, a धनदेवता and रत्ना an अप्सर-वर्तिनी. दारुतिका is going to Nandanavana to fetch flowers required by Siva, while रत्ना is out to meet her lover तरुदर, son of इन्द्रे, avoiding the other friends of hers who are in the caves of mountain Meru lurking there through fear of Taraka. Rambha, finding separation unbearable is on an अनितर mission. From the conversation

between these two we learn how Taraka is harassing the world, and also how Parvati has started to propitiate Lord Siva

Then are shown Indra and Brhaspati in conversation. A देवदूत named देवल brings fresh reports of तारक's depredations in heaven. Indra assures him that steps are being taken against the danger and the trouble would soon be eliminated. When the देवदूत departs, इंद्र and बृहस्पति discuss the danger posed by तारक and the remedy prophesied by Brahman that Taraka would be killed by son of Siva and Parvati, who would be the Commander-in chief of gods. How to bring about this marriage? Indra has got the heartening news from Rambha that Parvati has started the propitiation of Siva. Then Indra thinks of commissioning Madana to affect Siva with love. Madana, requested to undertake a task for the good of gods, says he would accomplish any exploit—even of conquering Siva! Brhaspati then tells Madana that his task shall be just to conquer Siva. Madana is inwardly taken aback. He has boasted about his prowess, and the boast is now spelling his disaster. Even वसन्त and रति are gravely concerned about the task. But काम is a person of honour and magnanimity. He, an insignificant servant, would undertake any task for the good of gods! The act ends with Madana leaving with Vasanta and Rati, on his errand, receiving the blessings and good wishes of Indra and Brhaspati, but with an apprehensive mind and Indra and Brhaspati also leave, hoping for the best by grace of gods.

(Act III) Indra and Brhaspati enter. Indra is wondering whether the mission of Madana would succeed. He has an ill omen viz the throbbing of the left eye. Just then there arrives Narada, who had followed Madana invisibly to observe things as per Indra's direction. Narada narrates the happenings. When Madana reached near स्यावाश्रम, he requested Vasanta to display his glory in the forest and accordingly the whole atmosphere was full of the signs of spring like the cooing of cuckoos, Malaya breeze and the like. Trees blossomed. Siva was disturbed from his meditation. Just then came on the scene पार्वती. While Parvati saluted Siva and the Lord blessed her 'अनुभूय, रक्षणमासास्य', Madana fixed his समोहन बाण on his bow. For a while Siva and

Parvati looked at each other with an emotional surge in the heart but S'iva forthwith controlled his disturbed mind and looked on all sides for the cause of the disturbance. And he espied Madana about to aim at himself. And lo ! a fire blazed out from the third eye of S'iva and reduced Madana to ashes. Indra fainted to hear this tragedy and Nārada comforted and revived him. Rati and Vasanta, continued Nārada, fainted. Vasanta revived first and he revived Rati, who began to lament embracing the charred body of her lord. A voice from the sky assured her that her lord would be revived when S'iva marries Parvati. Nārada further tells how the disconsolate Rati was taken home by Vasanta, how S'iva disappeared to avoid any meeting with a lady, and how Himālaya took the fainting Paravati home. Nārada himself goes to report matters to Brahma. There arrives Rambhā on the scene and informs Indra that she had heard in Kubera's abode about the burning of cupid, and she had also heard there that Pārvaṭi, disappointed by the death of Madana has embarked upon rigorous penances to get S'iva as her lord. Her mother tried to wean her from the ordeal without success, while father Himavan has approved of the idea. The act is then wound up.

(Act IV) Nandin enters, entrusted by S'iva with the task of verifying about the determination of Pārvaṭi and about her penances, from her friends Jaya and Vijayā. Nandin is struck by the firm determination and rigour of the penances of Parvati. Then are shown Jaya and Vijayā collecting flowers, Nandin learns from them the purpose behind Parvati's penance viz, obtaining S'iva as her Lord. He is told how Parvati became lovesick after the मदनदाह episode and how with no other way of achieving her objective she decided upon severe penances to attain her objective. Nandin suggests that she should desist from the futile pursuit to marry this कौतराणा अश्रमी and should marry some other god. But Jaya and Vijayā tell him that Parvati's attitude is 'do or die'. Nandin inwardly happy, goes to inform S'iva about the news while the two lady friends of Parvati carry flowers to Parvati. Here the मिश्रविषयम्भट्ट ends. In the main scene S'iva enters dressed as a Brahmacarin. He has in his mind already decided to relent and accept Parvati. Parvati is next shown practising penance and

accompanied by her friends Jaya and Vijaya. Parvati has the good omen of वामाक्षिस्य दन and जया suggests that her desire is probably going to be fulfilled soon. Just then Jaya notices a young ascetic coming that side. Parvati tells the two friends to worship the guest and she takes to silence. The guest is received duly, and after usual courtesies, the young ascetic inquires about the identity and purpose of their penancing friend. Learning of Parvati's objective he wonders whether there is any person worth being hankered for by पार्वती. When he learns that पार्वती is seeking to marry Siva, he expresses wonder that she should think of marrying such an unworthy person. He indulges in a lot of censure of Siva, but Parvati admonishes him curtly and decides to withdraw from the place to avoid hearing शिवनिन्दा, a great sin. Then Siva presents himself and proposes a गान्धर्व marriage forthwith. But at जया's suggestion he agrees to undergo the formality of marriage ceremony at Himavan's house after five days, and the girls return to their elders and Siva to his to get the marriage preparations working.

(Act V) The act opens with the entry of a Kaṅgukin who is directed by हिमवान् to supervise the city decorations for the marriage of पार्वती that day. He finds that all the city has been decorated and has gone gay. He reports the matter to हिमवान् who inquires about the arrival of all the guests viz mountains, gandharvas, Apsarasas etc. He is told that all have come. He enjoins the Kaṅgukin to look after the proper reception of all and also see that the decoration of पार्वती is attended to in the harem. Then enters Narda who greets हिमवान् on the auspicious occasion. Parvati's decoration is described in detail. Then arrives the bridegroom in procession. The marriage rites are conducted by Brhaspati. Brahma blesses the marriage (v. 32). Madana is revived by the grace of Siva and the drama ends with happiness all around.

We find how Kalidasa's shadow hangs over the drama as a whole. The following main points of close similarities between पार्वतीविष्णु and कुमारवन्दन (and occasionally some other works of कालिदास) shall be enough to show this.

पार्वतीपरिणय.

Kālidāsa's Works.

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| (1) I 9, 10 | (1) Ś'ak VII 8 |
| (2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा on p: 4 | (2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा in कुमार I : |
| (3) I 21 | (3) Ś'ak I 1 |
| (4) Details about पार्वती's reactions to the मदनदाह episode in Act III | (4) Reaction to मदनदाह episode in Kumara III.& V |
| (5) IV 9 | (5) Kum V 4, 48 |
| (6) p 30 'गृहीततनुरिव प्रथमाश्रमो मुदा' | (6) Ku V 30 d 'शरीरबद्ध प्रथमाश्रमो यथा' |
| (7) IV 11 | (7) Ku V 41 |
| (8) P 31 "कोज्जा... बठिनहृदय" । | (8) Ku. V 47 |
| (9) IV 12-13 | (9) Ku V 66-73 |
| (10) P. 32 'हला साहि दाब णम्' which seems to be a corrupt form of original text which should read 'महापुरिसिण्दिनालिणो जारिस णव तारिस गुणवदा ता' | (10) Ku. V 83 cd. |

We find that for a novice Bāṇa has given us a fairly good drama. There are some good उपमास (e g III 13, IV 29) some good मुभापित्त like 'भ्रमितव्यगा हि बलीकमी' or 'प्रहृतिरठिनानि खलु स्त्रीणा चेतानि । In descriptions and delineation of sentiments, there is obviously a Kālidāsan influence. Though नाट्यशास्त्र does not permit to depict a marriage or other religious rites on the stage, Bāṇa in his पार्वतीपरिणय does not hesitate to choose as his theme the nuptials of Ś'iva and Pārvatī. We find that after the two नान्दी verses, the सूत्रधार enters, and like a सूत्रधार in a भाग play, has his own नान्दी again so to say. Was Bāṇa trying to bring a compromise between a traditional beginning and a सूत्रधारकृतारम्भ drama? Anyway पार्वतीपरिणय in some measure reminds one of Bāṇa's verse in Haracarita Introduction, wherein he describes some special feature of Bhāsa's dramas, and which Bāṇa in a way attempts to imitate.

Lastly we come to the alleged authorship by Bāṇa of रत्नावली. In the वाच्यप्रकाश we get a remark that बाण obtained money from हर्ष (cp. श्रीहर्षदिवाणशीतानामिव धनम्—वाच्यप्रकाश I). This led a few scholars to believe, relying on a Kashmir tradition that the drama रत्नावली was really written by Bāṇa and it was permitted to go under the name of Harṣa for monetary return. But this is hardly convincing. For, Harṣa is the author of three dramas viz. त्रिपदशिका, रत्नावली and नागानन्द. The prologues of all these three plays are very similar. They all specifically mention हर्ष as the author in each case. There are numerous similarities of word and thought in the three dramas which show a common authorship. None has questioned Harṣa's authorship of त्रिपदशिका and नागानन्द nor attributed them to Bāṇa. Then how can only रत्नावली be ascribed to Bāṇa in fairness? (Dr. P. L. Vaidya says that all these three dramas are ascribed by some to बाण. But does not mention who these 'some' are. We are not aware of them).

It should be noted that these dramas are cited by many आम्हकारिणः and they have not raised a doubt about Harṣa's authorship thereof. Thus for example रत्नावली is referred to in दामोदर-गुप्त's कुट्टनीमत (8th cent. A. D.) रत्नावली and नागानन्द are quoted in ध्वन्यालोचन (p. 150 and 176 resp.) The रत्नावली is quoted at least a score of times and नागानन्द and त्रिपदशिका on a fewer occasions in घनशंकर's दशहर. But nowhere has the slightest hint been given about Bāṇa's authorship of रत्नावली or any of the other two plays. Kṣemendra, the learned critic and himself a Kashmirian quotes some verses from रत्नावली and attributes them to श्रीहर्ष [cp. In the शिवकण्ठाभरण—संवि. V “इन्द्रजालपरिचयो यथा श्रीहर्षस्य एव ब्रह्मा सरोजे &c (R. IV 11), In औचित्यविचारचर्चा he quotes the following verses as श्रीहर्ष's—‘परिमान &c (R. II 12); विद्यान्त-विग्रहकवः &c' (R. I 8), ‘उदायोत्कलिका &c' (R. II 4), भयानके यथा श्रीहर्षस्य ‘कण्ठे कृत्वावशेष’ अपि च ‘नष्ट वर्षवदः’ &c (R. II 2-3)] Mammata himself has never said that Bāṇa got money by ascribing his रत्नावली to हर्ष. He seems to be referring to the wealth which बाण got from हर्ष as a court poet of the latter. As Prin. Gajendragadkar says: “The phenomenon of king-poets

which appears a novelty to westerners, was by no means uncommon to India. We have such glorious examples as भर्तृहरि, सुद्रक, श्रीहर्ष, यशोवर्मा, भोजराज and others." The wealth obtained by Bāṇa from Harṣa is also referred to in the verse 'हेम्नो भारतानि' etc, quoted by us at the beginning of Chap III. As a whole the ascription of any of हर्ष's three dramas to Bāṇa's authorship seems to be totally unwarranted. And Mm. Kane, Prin. Gajendragadkar, Dr. P. L. Vaidya etc (practically all leading scholars) are on our side in this conclusion.

Chapter V

THE HARŚACARITA

“ वाणस्य हृद्ये चरिते निश्चितामुदीक्ष्य शक्तिं न वेत्ति कवितासुमद त्यजति । ”

—सोऽडलस्य

The Harśacarita is a pioneer attempt in Sanskrit Literature to write a महाकाव्य on a historical theme. But though it has a historical thread as its basis, and is a valuable record for contemporary social and historical details, in the paucity of other records, still its value as a historical document should not be over-rated. For we find fancy and imagination freely mixed with the thread of actual history. Several points of interest like the names and identity of the Malava and Gauda kings, who respectively assassinated Grahavarmā and Rājyavardhana is left obscure. It is left to Huen Tsang to give the name of the latter as दशमहक, though the former is not named by him too. Chronology of persons and events in the Harśacarita is weak and confused to some extent. And so even if the work gives a close picture of the society of the day, we learn very little indeed about the political facts of the great emperor's reign as a whole.

And really this need not much surprise us because Harśacarita is written by Baṇa more as a romantic story than as sober history. A Sanskrit historical kāvya may have a historical theme, but the treatment thereof is hardly historical in style or spirit. Indians, though not totally lacking a sense of history, certainly have no love for chronicling of events in a modern historian's way. Perhaps the Indian mind psychologically 'is more interested in the world of imagination than the world of facts, is more attracted by mythological heroes than contemporary ones'. The Sanskrit theory of art also, in its emphasis on imaginative and impersonated creation, encouraged abstraction, admitted belief in fate and miracles, and had little feeling for the concrete facts and forces of human nature and human life. "Sanskrit writers of historical kāvyas are more poets than historians".

The Harṣacarita has a literary as well as a historical and cultural importance. It corroborates in a remarkable way the social and historical information of the Harṣa Era left to us by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The Harṣacarita offers us a vivid picture of the Indian society, its religion and culture, its manners and customs, its arts and industries, as these existed more than thirteen hundred years ago. Bana gives masterly descriptions of court and village life, holding the mirror to the time as if "The court, the camp, the quiet villages, which then, as now, contained the great mass of population, and still more quiet monasteries and retreats whether of Brahmanas or Buddhists are all painted with singular power." Harṣacarita is thus a great social document as well. Dr Karambelkar has emphasized the importance of the इषेचरित as (1) कविचरित्र (2) नृपचरित्र and (3) a social document of the Harṣa era.

Harṣacarita and Kādambari are composed in the same ornate and elaborate style, both exhibit more or less the same merits and defects. But Harṣacarita is inferior to Kādambari as a literary work. It has more artificial puns and sound effects, it has more obsolete, obscure or provincial words; its characterisation is not as minute and subtle as that in Kādambari. "In the ease and flow of speech, in the force and vigour of thought and expression, and in the happy description of impulses, emotions and sentiments that sway human conduct, the Kādambari vastly excels the Harṣacarita." (k) Harṣacarita shows Bana's apprentice period, while Kādambari shows him as a master artist. But Harṣacarita certainly shows Bana's prospective promise as an author and shows his genius for imagery, description and characterisation. And as we have remarked earlier Harṣacarita has a special importance of its own. It is of great importance to the historian of ancient India. It gives an idea about the progress achieved in administration and communications, in medicine and other sciences in arts and crafts, in civilisation and culture as a whole. Only one regrets that Bana did not write about the entire career of his patron. Another point of note about Harṣacarita is that it supplies the definite lower limit for the dates of several authors or works which Bana

The *Harṣacarita* is a गद्यकाव्य containing eight chapters called लच्छवसास. At the beginnings there are 21 introductory verses The Kerala University edition gives 23 introductory verses to हर्षचरित instead of 21 of the N S P. or Kane's edition The additional verses are —

- (1) अविरतवन्दमहौषधप्रक्षालितसकलभूतलकलङ्का ।
मूर्तिभिरुपासिततीर्थी सरस्वती हरतु दुरित व ॥
- (2) दर्शयन्ती मुखे स्वेद प्रस्तलन्ती पदे पदे ।
कथञ्चिन्नीयते शय्या कथा नववधूरिव ॥

[(1) Comes at the very beginning before नमस्तुद्ग्र०

(2) comes between सुखप्रबोध० & जयति ज्वलत्०]

At the beginning of लच्छवसास II to VIII there are two verses each Further a few more verses are scattered in the work. The work begins with the mythical origin of the दत्त family to which Bāṇa belongs and abruptly ends at the recovery of राज्यधी by हर्ष in the main narrative of the हर्षचरित. We now give a detailed summary of the work.

A summary of the *Harṣacarita* —

(Uc. I) In the introductory verses, Bāṇa pays homage to Śaṃbhu (V. 1) and Umā (V 2), then he salutes Vyāsa (V 3) in the next three verses (VV 4 6) he laments over the lack of real good poets in the world, which is only too full of poetasters and plagiarists, then he refers to some regional stylistic peculiarities (V 7) and to the essential features of good poetry (V. 8) Paying a homage to मारसी कथा (V 9), Bāṇa then salutes the famous writers of आख्यायिकास who preceded him (V, 10) Next he refers with admiration to several earlier works or authors He first refers to वासवदत्ता (obviously a गद्यकाव्य) (V 11), then to the गद्य व (prose composition) of भट्टार हरिचन्द्र (V. 12), then to मानवाहुत's श्लोक (obviously सप्तमई) (V 13), next to प्रवरगेत's सेतु (= सेतुघण्ट) (V 14) Then he refers to भाम's dramas (V 15) and Kālidāsa's मूर्तिस (V 16) He then mentions बह्वक्या (V. 17) and the उल्लाहस composed by आद्यपराज (V 18) In the next verse (19) he proposes to undertake the ambitious task of writing the present आख्यायिका, then in V 20 describes some special features of an आख्यायिका and

winds up the introduction with an encomium to King Śyāhāṣa, his patron (V 21)

Then begins the narration of BṚHṢPĀ's autobiography. Once upon a time the divine lord Brahmā was seated in his assembly, waited upon by gods and sages. There was recitation of different Vedās going on and some disputes were arising amongst the learned on various academic topics. Just then the irritable sage Durvāsas, who was at dispute with another sage Upamanyū (‘मनु’ acc. Kēraḥa Ūnī Edā) recited a Saṃān with a tonal fault through anger. While other sages discreetly held their peace for fear of upsetting the wrathful sage, young सरस्वती, with her girlish innocence, smiled at that error. Durvāsas flew into temper at once and poured water to curse the audacious सरस्वती who dared to laugh at him! The goddess सावित्री who was seated beside Brahmā got up in anger to protest against Durvāsas's rashness. There were protests and entreaties from gods, Durvāsas's disciples and his father Atri, to Durvāsas to desist from cursing सरस्वती, but Durvāsas turned a deaf ear to these and cursed सरस्वती that she would go to the nether world (मर्त्यलोक). Savitri was about to give a countercurse to Durvāsas, but Sarasvatī interceded saying that Durvāsas deserved honour as a Brahmin, it not for anything else.

Brahmā took Durvāsas severely to task for his intemperate behaviour, ill-suiting his ascetic garb, and assured सरस्वती that her curse would last only till she sees the face of a son born to her, and that सावित्री would keep her company during the sojourn in the nether world. Brahmā then retired from the assembly and so did Sarasvatī with Savitri. The sun soon set and night arrived. Savitri tried to console सरस्वती who was uneasy on account of the impending departure from heaven. She assured सरस्वती that she would soon get to the end of the curse period, by a devoted propitiation of Lord Śiva. Sarasvatī replied that with सावित्री as companion she is not worried about residence on earth or the curse, but she is sorry to miss the opportunity of serving Lord Brahmā. Next morning सरस्वती, with सावित्री left for the nether world. She descended to earth along the descent of Gaṅgā. While descending, she saw from the sky the river हिरण्यवती or साग

And सरस्वती and सावित्री resided in an arbour of creepers on the western bank of Sona

One day in the morning they saw a group of horsemen riding towards the place where they were staying. And in the midst of that group they saw a very charming youth of eighteen. And with him was a middle aged, fatish, bald companion, dressed in simple and charming garb. The youth having heard from his fore-runners about the pair of young divinely beautiful girls proceeded to meet them. Keeping his retinue at some distance he entered the region of the arbour along with that elderly companion of his. They were offered appropriate hospitality as guests by सावित्री and सरस्वती, and after some time सावित्री in a very gracious speech inquired about them. The elderly man told that the youth was दधीच son of च्यवन and मुक्या. He was born and bred till now at the house of his maternal grand-father king Saryata and now he was returning to his father's hermitage, just beyond the Sona, and that he himself was विकुक्षि, servant of शर्वति, sent as an escort to दधीच. The elderly man विकुक्षि politely inquired about the identity of and information about the two young girls. Savitri told that they wished to stay there for quite some time and their personal details would be known by दधीच and विकुक्षि in due course. दधीच expressed a hope that they would soon come to know about these details and suggested to विकुक्षि the continuation of the journey, which they did. And as they went out of sight having crossed Sona, Sarasvati who was intently looking at the youth turned away her gaze with great reluctance. सरस्वती was smitten by love and became love sick. Soon returned विकुक्षि on his return journey. From him they learnt that दधीच also is now in a vacant mood and is emaciated. He also informed that a messenger from him named मातृती would soon call on them. And next day Malati arrived with some servants and presented the compliments of दधीच to सरस्वती and सावित्री, both of whom were greatly drawn towards her. Then when at noon Savitri had gone to Sona for her bath Malati conveyed the message of love from दधीच to सरस्वती. सरस्वती conveyed her acceptance of दधीच's love and Malati returned with the glad tidings to दधीच to bring him back to meet his sweet-

heart Dadhica came that night, the lovers were united and passed more than a year just like one day. In due course सरस्वती conceived and gave birth to a son who was called सरस्वत. After the birth of the son, सरस्वती with सावित्री returned to heaven as per the stipulation by Brahma, and दधीच too agonised by her separation, repaired to the penance grove, after entrusting the task of bringing up his son, to अशमला, the wife of a Brahmin brother of his. अशमला had a son वत्स born the same day as सरस्वत, and the two boys grew together. सरस्वत had inherited by his father's blessing and mother's heredity all knowledge automatically and he imparted all that to his cousin वत्स. Then he established वत्स as a householder at प्रोतिकट and himself joined his father for तपस्या at the forest. From वत्स arose the famous family of the वात्स्यायन्s, who were noted for the religious and scholarly attainments.

After a lapse of a long time in that family was born a great person, named बुधेर. He had four eminent sons अच्युत, ईशान, हर and वागुवन. वागुवन had one son only, the illustrious अर्यपति. अर्यपति had eleven sons भृगु, हस्त, शुचि, कवि, महीदत्त, धर्म, जानवेदम्, विश्वमानु, श्रग, अहिदत्त, and विश्वरूप. Out of these, विश्वमानु had from his wife राजद्वी a son named बाण. बाण lost his mother in his childhood. And his father acted also the mother for him, very affectionately. And बाण grew up gradually and had his मन्त्रs like उपनयन duly performed. But when he was about fourteen, his father too died. बाण was greatly grieved. Gradually getting over grief, बाण for a while embarked on a wandering life in a miscellaneous company. बाण by his waywardness, became an object of disparagement of the elders. But after getting a varied and rich experience of the world in travelling बाण once more was attracted to his family-seat and family traditions of learning and religion. And the prodigal errant, who returned, was welcomed at home with open arms.

(Lc II) बाण dwelt happily at his native place which was a place replete with Vedic lore and ritual. Once when summer (रतन) had set in, the heat had become intense and there were hot winds blowing and forest conflagrations raging बाण who was

resting after meals one afternoon, was told about the arrival of a messenger from Kṛṣṇa, brother (cousin?) of Emperor Harṣa. Bāṇa directed that the messenger be ushered in quickly. The messenger had brought a letter and an oral message from Kṛṣṇa to Bāṇa. The oral message was: "Kṛṣṇa has always felt a special regard for Bāṇa. He found that some wicked persons, ill disposed towards Bāṇa, had poisoned the Emperor's ears against you, and the Emperor had been finding it difficult to disbelieve so many informants. But Kṛṣṇa who understood Bāṇa's worth correctly had interceded on Bāṇa's behalf with Emperor, and the latter was open to conviction about Bāṇa's goodness. So Bāṇa should hasten to come to see Emperor Harṣa. Bāṇa should not worry about difficulties of royal service or feel diffident to see His Majesty. For Harṣa is indeed a very great monarch, who has a real appreciation of merit and a broad mind. Bāṇa arranged for the rest of the messenger and that night reflected as to what he should do. He felt that with no court experience or hereditary court-links or influences at royal court, and with no outstanding achievements intellectual or otherwise [Bāṇa's modesty, by the way], it would be rash perhaps to go to the King. But here was the suggestion of a very affectionate yet selfless well-wisher like Kṛṣṇa to go. Better he goes than

And accordingly he left श्रीनिकट on his journey, after performing several auspicious rites. In the evening on the first day he reached a village named मल्लकूट and there enjoyed the hospitality of a cousin (?) and friend जगत्पति, crossed next day river Gaṅga and rested next night in a forest hamlet named यद्विगुहक. And next day he reached Harṣa's camp near Mapitara (v. I Mapipura) on the Ajiravati.

In the afternoon accompanied by मेखलक, he went to see emperor Harṣa. On the way to Harṣa's chamber, he saw the horses of the king and also the royal elephant इक्ष्वाकु. Then he was duly introduced to the august presence of Emperor Harṣa. First Bāṇa was received coldly, and emperor Harṣa referred to him as "महान्त्य भूवदन्". Bāṇa made a very courteous but also very dignified and spirited self defence. He said that he was

born in the illustrious family of the वात्स्यायनः; and he had got good education befitting his heritage. He was married and a responsible householder. Granted in young days he was a bit indiscreet in his activities but that was just due to juvenile immaturity and indiscretion. But Emperor Harṣa should not judge him by those juvenile lapses, but by his intrinsic worth. Harṣa looked at him with approbation and interest, but did not favour him immediately. But soon Harṣa was convinced of Bāṇa's real worth and then extended to him every favour and consideration. Bāṇa could long for (cp. स्वर्पूरेण चाहोभिः परमप्रीतेन प्रमादजन्मनो मानस्य श्रेष्णो द्विस्रम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभायस्य च परा षोडशमनीषत नरेन्द्रेणेति ।)

(Uc III) Once at the advent of autumn (शरद्) Bāṇa came back to ब्राह्मणाश्रित्य to meet his kith and kin. He was received very warmly and enthusiastically. He inquired whether his relatives were quite happy during his absence and whether all their activities were going on as usual—their sacrificial performances, Vedic studies, Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā discussions and poetic pursuits. They told him that they were quite happy in their Brahmanic pursuits. Bāṇa had long conversation with them on various matters. He was treated to a recital of the वायुपुराण by reader मुद्गुष्टि in the afternoon.

Then Bāṇa's four cousins गणरति, अधिपति, तारापति and श्यामल, who were eager to hear about the life of Bāṇa's patron, Emperor Harṣa, requested Bāṇa through the youngest of themselves, Śyāmala, Bāṇa's greatest favourite, to narrate about the life of Harṣa. Bāṇa pleaded his inability to do full justice to such an eminent subject, but promised to narrate a portion of Harṣa's life, to the best of his ability; and that he would commence the account next day as it was already evening then. (Here ends the autobiographical portion in the हर्षचरित)

Next morning Bāṇa began to narrate the life of Harṣa. There was a prosperous country by name शंभुः. It was noted for religion and prosperity. In that country there was a province named श्यामवीक्षर. It was also marked by plenty and prosperity-

The ladies of *स्थाष्वीश्वर* were very beautiful and sophisticated. There was a king *पुष्पभूति* who ruled there. He was a great devotee of *Siva* and his subjects also imitated him. He once heard of an eminent *महाशैव* named *भैरवाचार्य* and came to have a great devotion for him, even on hearing of him.

Once evening the doorkeeper announced the arrival of an ascetic (*परिव्राज मस्करी*) who came from *Bhairavacarya*. The ascetic was immediately admitted to the royal presence with great respect. The ascetic presented the king with five silver lotuses sent by *Bhairavācary*, which the king reverentially accepted and promised to call of *Bhairavācarya* the next day. He accordingly went next day to see him. The king was affectionately greeted by the sage and he too very reverentially saluted the sage and sat on a cloth-seat nearby. They had a talk for a while the king returned to his palace. Next *Bhairavacarya* paid a return-visit to the king. He refused politely the wealth offered by *पुष्पभूति*.

The ascetic emissary used to give five silver lotuses as presents to *पुष्पभूति*, whenever he called on the latter. One day he brought a bright sword named *अट्टहान* as a gift from *भैरवाचार्य* to *पुष्पभूति*. A sword which *पातालस्वामिन*, a Brahmin disciple of *भैरवाचार्य* had snatched from the hands of a *ब्रह्मराक्षस*. The king accepted the sword as a great favour.

One day *Bhairavacarya* called the king and requested him to help him in *वेतालसाधना* on the next *वृश्चिकतुर्दशी* night in a deserted temple near a *इमरान*, along with three other disciples of his viz the ascetic emissary *टीटिभ*, the Brahmin *पातालस्वामिन* and a *द्विज* named *वर्णताल*. The king very gladly accepted the assignment, and on the appointed night, secretly left his palace, *अट्टहान* in hand, and reached the rendezvous. The rites for attainment of *विद्याधरत्व* by *भैरवाचार्य* were started. Suddenly there arose a ferocious figure from the ground,—a *नाग* named *श्रीकण्ठ* who knocked out the other three assistants. But king *पुष्पभूति* challenged him, and in a single combat threw him to the ground. But when about to behead him by drawing his *अट्टहान*, he saw the *नाग*'s *यमोपवीत* and spared him.

Just then in the दृष्टि in his hand he saw a vision of लक्ष्मी, who announced that she was pleased with his valour and asked him to choose any boon. The devout king asked for भैरवाचार्य's सिद्धि, which was granted. And लक्ष्मी further announced that in view of this self-less magnanimity of the king, there would arise from him a new great राजवंश, compeer of the सूर्यवंश and चन्द्रवंश, in which would be born a great Emperor Harṣa, on whom she would personally wait. With these words Lakṣmi disappeared. Bhairavācārya obtained विद्याघरत्व. He profusely thanked the king and offered to do something by way of his gratitude to the king, who, however, said that the achievement by Bhairavācārya of his objective was reward enough for the king himself. Bhairavācārya then went to his appropriate higher region. The नाग धीवृष्ट placing himself at पुण्यभूति's behest went back with his consent to the nether world. पुण्यभूति came next morning with three associates, to his capital. He treated the three colleagues very hospitably. Of these three, the परित्याट्ट टीटिम left for forest later on, in spite of the king's requests otherwise; while पातालस्वामिन् and वर्नताल look service with the king and lived with him ever after for life.

(Uc. IV) From पुण्यभूति arose a famous वंश, adorned by eminent monarchs. In due course was born in that family an illustrious king प्रभाकरवर्धन, who was a राजाधिराज. He had an equally illustrious wife यशोमती. प्रभाकरवर्धन was a great devotee of the sun. He everyday worshipped the sun and thrice a day recited an आदित्यमन्त्र for the sake of progeny.

One day in the early hours of morning यशोमती rose from her sleep crying for help. The king immediately got up and asked what the trouble was. यशोमती told that she saw in a dream two young lustrous boys, emerging from sun's orb, accompanied by a young girl, and attempting to enter the belly of herself, cutting it open; and she got up shouting.

Just then several good omens presented themselves. The king reassured the Queen that the dream was very auspicious and suggestive that three children would be born to her in due course. The Queen was very happy to learn this

Then was born in due course, first Prince Rājyavardhana. Then next was born the second son हर्षवर्धन Harṣavardhana was born on वद्य द्वादशी of the month of ज्येष्ठ on कृत्तिका नक्षत्र. The time of birth was early night. The ग्रह were all in उच्चस्थान. Astrologically he was destined to be a great Cakravartin. There were several good omens. A great पुत्रज-मोत्सव was celebrated.

Then when Harṣa began to take his first steps with the aid of nurse, and when राज्यवर्धन was in his sixth year, यशोमती conceived again and the daughter राज्यश्री was born. About that very time यशोमती's brother sent his son, about eight years old, as a companion for the two princes. His name was Bhaṣṭin, and he was a very eminently gifted boy.

Prince Rājyavardhana and Harṣa grew into very valorous and intelligent princes. Their father gave them as their companions two Malava princes कुमारगुप्त and माघवर्गुप्त, who were very able and trust-worthy and who were to be treated as confidante friends. Kumāragupta then was eighteen years old and was of medium build. His younger brother माघवर्गुप्त was fairly tall and fair in complexion. They became the trusted companions of राज्यवर्धन and हर्ष.

Rājyaśrī also grew into a very accomplished princess. Her hand was sought by many princes. She was betrothed to Grāhivarama, the son of Avantivarma of the Mātikhari family. The marriage of Rājyaśrī was soon celebrated with due pomp. After staying for a while at प्रभाकरवर्धन's place, ग्रहवर्मा returned to his place with राज्यश्री.

(Uc. V) Once king प्रभाकरवर्धन sent his young son राज्यवर्धन who had become कवचहर to conquer the Hunas in the north. हर्ष accompanied राज्यवर्धन on his march for some days, and when राज्यवर्धन went ahead towards far north हर्ष remained behind to enjoy मृगया in forests for a while, before returning home. One morning there he had a dream in which he saw a lion perishing in a forest conflagration and his lioness jumping in that fire, abandoning the cubs. On awakening Harṣa was made uneasy by this

dream. He had all omens too. In the afternoon he saw कुरुद्वार
 a messenger from his father arriving with a report of his father's
 being down with heavy fever. Harṣa proceeded homewards
 immediately even without taking food, having given in charity all
 his possessions. He had many ill omens on the way. He reached
 the capital after incessant march and entered the palace which
 was a picture of sullen despondency, with desperate efforts being
 made to save the king's life by every means possible. Harṣa saw
 his father, seriously ill. He was embraced by his father very
 affectionately even in that condition and was pressed to take food
 after having fasted for three days in transit. Harṣa could practically
 see the writing on the wall. He asked the frank opinion of the
 young physician रत्नचन्द्र, who promised to tell it next day and next
 day Harṣa heard that रत्नचन्द्र had courted death by अभिप्रवृत्ति
 rather than convey the unfortunate news of प्रभाकरवर्धन's impend-
 ing end to Harṣa. रत्नचन्द्र decided to practise 'Sati' (self immo-
 lation) before प्रभाकरवर्धन's death. Harṣa tried to persuade his
 mother to desist from that resolve. But she did not relent. She
 committed herself to fate and at sunset Prabhakaravardhana also
 breathed his last. Harṣa remained anxiously awaiting the return
 of Rajyavardhana.

(Uc VI) Soon Rajyavardhana returned immersed in grief,
 there was a touching meeting of the two brothers. Next day
 रत्नचन्द्र announced his intention to abdicate in favour of हर्ष,
 because रत्नचन्द्र had a mind to retire to forest and was not
 feeling equal to undertake the taxing labour of rulership. Harṣa
 could not think of such a thing and he too decided to
 follow रत्नचन्द्र to forest.

Just then came रत्नचन्द्र, a servant of रत्नचन्द्र, with the sad
 report of प्रभाकरवर्धन's murder by the king of Malavas and the
 imprisonment of रत्नचन्द्र in a jail at Kanyakubja. He also reported
 that the Malava king was likely to attack the kingdom of रत्नचन्द्र
 as well.

Rajyavardhana immediately started an expedition against the
 Malava king having ṛṣi to look after the kingdom. He viewed
 the annihilation of the Malavas as his duty, and resolved

out accompanied by Bhaṅgin and an army of horsemen Harṣa pleaded for permission to accompany him but राज्यवधन told him that this time he only shall go Harṣa would have enough scope in later life to display his valour They need not carry too many guns against a trifling enemy like the Malava king

But Harṣa soon heard of the heartrending news of the murder of राज्यवधन by the king of Gaudas after enticing him in confidence to his house after राज्यवधन had defeated the Malavas This news enraged Harṣa very much His general सिंहनाद also recommended strong action by ह्य to uproot the Gauda king and all other enemies Harṣa vowed to extirpate the Gauda king and also to establish universal sovereignty by conquering all kings of India His राजाध्यक्ष gave him a sound advice of moving warily in the world and not believing too much in any one The enemies had several ill omens

(Uc VII) Then after some days Harṣa embarked on his expedition from the doorkee of the camp of the king of

प्राञ्ज्योतिष आमोग
to श्रीह्य It was a wonderful parasol for इदं न सप्तारिचिदहति, न
पुण्डरीको हुरति नोदरुमारयनि न रजासि गलिनयति, न जरा नजरयति।”
(p 374) He also conveyed the message of king कुमार (alias
भास्करवर्मा) who wanted lifelong friendship with emperor
Harṣa Harṣa accepted the request and sent हसवेग with appro-
priate presents to the king of प्राञ्ज्योतिष

The marches went on One day ह्य found भण्डिन returning bringing the conquered armies of Malava conquered by राज्यवधन After a touching meeting ह्य learnt from Bhaṅgin that after राज्यवधन died and कुसुमश्ल (i e कान्यकुब्ज) was in his hands of one मुप्त राज्यश्री had escaped from imprisonment and entered the Vindhya forest But efforts to trace her were yet unsuccessful Harṣa decided to take up the task of searching राज्यश्री personally asking Bhaṅgin to proceed ahead with the army He next day saw the booty obtained by राज्यवधन in the fight with the Malavas and then started towards विन्ध्यादवी in quest of राज्यश्री and soon reached a forest hamlet in it

would reveal to us Bāṇa's deep understanding of human nature and his ability to give vivid portraits of different persons with their individual traits and peculiarities

B-ṛṇa . We begin with a charactersketch of Bāṇa by Bāṇa For Bāṇa is the hero of the earlier autobiographical portion of the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa shows himself to be an impartial observer and judge of his own assets and defects Bāṇa as we have already mentioned earlier, was born in a family of rich monetary and educational traditions But he lost his mother very early and was brought up with great affection by his father, who acted also the mother to him Naturally B-ṛṇa became very fond of his father and this trait we find particularly presented in the *Kadambari* in the parrot's story of its early life Bāṇa unfortunately lost his father too when he was about fourteen years old and then Bāṇa for some years led a wandering life a thing not approved by his elders but which was obviously a result of boyish curiosity to see the world And one should have no regret that Bāṇa chose this wandering life for a while Because it was in these years of travel, when people were mocking him that Bāṇa harvested a rich and varied experience of life He got acquainted in those travels with courts and courtiers gurukulas and scholars men of varied professions and walks of life and assemblies of the learned and the elite The spark of inborn genius got a special brilliance by this direct touch with life, and by the time he returned to re-embark on his academic career and to commence his literary career, he was possessed of a rich background of experience of life which rarely could have been equaled by others Bāṇa was very fond of his native place and his kith and kin, and he began his life as a young householder at *Prithvīkūṭ*, the family seat of *वत्स* And then came the call of the court Bāṇa hesitated for some time Being a man of great modesty, he wondered whether he had abilities enough to succeed at the court But he left for the court at least to justify *Kṛṣṇa*'s good intentions towards himself When he found in the first interview with *Harṣa* the emperor mildly rebuking him with the words *‘महान् अयं भुङ्गते’*, he gave a very spirited defence of himself This shows how he was very self respecting At the same time Bāṇa

varied role as a पत्नी, माता and राज्ञी with great charm and dignity. But she is the Indian wife par excellence, to whom her husband is all in all, and she courts death when she finds that प्रभाकरवर्धन's end is near. The system of सती is a system questioned for good reasons, and questioned by Bana himself in his वादम्बरी, but none can question यशोमती's great love for प्रभाकरवर्धन which made her take that extreme step.

Rajyavardhana Rajayavardhana like this earth's sweetest flowers, died young. But even in that brief but glorious career राज्यवर्धन has left immortal fame as an obedient son, affectionate brother and great hero. Temperamentally he was a man of peace. He had a great admiration and devotion for Buddha. He was a परमसौम्य. He wanted to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother but cruel fate made him abdicate the world. But he died at the post of duty. Revenge for ग्रहवर्मन's murder was a prior duty before he could renounce the world. He took the revenge before being himself murdered by a treacherous adversary.

Harṣavardhana Harṣavardhana is the hero of the Harṣa-casita. He is one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India. A great hero, a great patron of learning, a great writer himself and a person of great religious tolerance, he can be rightly called a great राजर्षि in the true Indian style. His birth was heralded by a prophesy of Lakṣmi. His mother had before his birth दोहदस which typified the child to be born. She would like to bathe in the waters of the four oceans, to see her reflection is a shining sword to take up bow, leaving aside the lute and to see lions in captivity. All these were prognostications of the Universal Sovereign to be born. When he was born, astrologers predicted his great career and fortune. Even as a young prince Harṣa showed his great promise as a hero and administrator.

Harṣa was greatly attached to his parents, brother and sister. It was his great misfortune to lose his parents, his sister's husband and his (own) brother, very quickly, one after other. But adversity brought out the best in him and he heroically vowed to extirpate all enemies and become the Sovereign of India and he - - - - - ved both these objectives. When he started on his expedition

Commentaries on the Harṣacarita —Kāṣṭhācāriar enumerates five commentaries on Harṣacarita. The authors of these are शङ्कर, रङ्गनाथ, रचक (or रच्यक), राजानक and शङ्कररत्न. Out of these the first two are available in print. (1) शङ्कर by शङ्कर is the one commentary which is widely known. It is very valuable for the understanding of many obscure words or puns. But it is often very meagre. We do not know much about the life or date of this शङ्कर. He probably hailed from Kashmir because his commentary is only found in Kashmir. His father's name is पुण्याकर. He invokes [Ganes] at the beginning of his commentary. He has obviously consulted earlier exegesis on the book and he frequently refers to earlier commentators by the words like केचित्, अथ, अपरे etc. He acknowledges the debt to these earlier commentators in a verse at the end of his work. "दुर्बोधे हर्षचरिते सम्प्रदायानुरोवत् । गूढोर्थो-मुद्रणा चक्रे शङ्करो विदुषा कृते ॥" He has mentioned उदभट्ट, काव्यालङ्कार, ध्वन्यालोक and राजशेखर. This would indicate that he came after 9th cent A. D. A ms of शङ्कर is dated सवत् (ostensibly विजयसवत्) 1520 i. e. 1464 A. D. Further शङ्कर, probably a Kashmirian himself does not refer to eminent Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like मम्मट or रच्यक but quotes ancient Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like भामहू and उदभट्ट. So probably he seems to have flourished before 12th cent A. D. Mm Kane notes how शङ्कर has referred to some 'vernacular' words, which may furnish some clue to his provenance (e. g. On the word गृह्णतु he remarks 'सत्ता' इति यस्य प्रसिद्धि, on प्रोदिव he says योष्या शनार्थं प्रसेवक यो 'बुक्कण' इति प्रसिद्ध, on लम्बापटहा he says 'तमिला इति प्रसिद्धा').

(2) Harṣacarita published by Kerala University in 1958 contains a commentary on हर्षचरित by रङ्गनाथ. The commentary is named मर्मोक्थोपनिषी. This is much more exhaustive than शङ्कर by शङ्कर, and is very helpful for the understanding of the text. "From the prefatory verses we know that रङ्गनाथ was the son of श्रीवृष्णार्थ and belonged to the गोळीकुट्ट, and that he was the disciple of नारायणाय. He gives Malayalam equivalents to several difficult words a fact which seems to suggest that the author might have been a native of Kerala or at any rate one who was

proficient in Malayalam. It is also noteworthy that the commentator has adopted the Kerala readings in preference to other readings " (Kerala Uni. Edn.)

(iii) It appears that ह्यक, the famous author of अलङ्कारसर्वस्व had written a commentary called हर्षचरितवार्तिक on the हर्षचरित cp. एना (उत्प्रेक्षा) च समन्तोन्माप्रतिपादकविपर्येयं हर्षचरितवार्तिके साहित्य-मीमांसाया च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषूदाहृता ।"—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 61. The author of the commentary on the व्यक्तिविवेक of महिमनङ्ग, who is generally regarded to be the same as Ruyyaka also refers to his own commentary on the हर्षचरित called हर्षचरितवार्तिक cp "एत-दस्मानिहर्षचरितवार्तिके विलुप्त्य प्रतिपादितम्, तत एवावस्यन् ।"—p. 44 of the comm on the व्यक्तिविवेक (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). It is a pity that this ancient commentary by such an eminent critic has not yet seen the light of the day. If and when found, it is bound to help in settling the meaning of many a doubtful word or passage and in settling corruptions in the text of हर्षचरित. We do not know any details about the other two commentaries beyond their names.

Two casual points of note are: (1) According to the learned translators of Harṣacarita (Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas), Harṣacarita was generally forgotten by Indian writers, and that only rare copies of the work existed in the libraries. They mention only साहित्यदर्पण and वाचस्पतय्य referring to हर्षचरित. But Mm Kane shows how वाचस्पतय्य, नमिमाय्य and ह्यक also have referred to हर्षचरित. He also tells that Harṣacarita was carefully preserved and studied in Kashmir at least. (For Kalhaya's indebtedness to the Harṣacarita cp Dr. Stein's Kalhaya vol. I p. 133).

(2) In नीलकण्ठ's शृङ्गारप्रकाश (chap 20) there is a quotation:

‘तस्य च मुक्ता कुमारी हर्षवती सर्वलक्षणोत्तिग्ना ।

ता मन्वत प्रयच्छन्ति हर्षो ग्रहिते महम्मनि ॥

This shows the existence of another हर्षचरित. This seems to have no connection with our हर्षचरित

CHAPTER VI

THE KĀDAMBARĪ

“कादम्बरीरसमरेण समस्त एव
मत्तो न विञ्चिदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् ॥”

—भूषणदास in कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग

Bāṇa's Kādambarī is a peerless work in Sanskrit prose Romance, and is famous for its supreme literary merit. It became later on a word signifying the type 'Novel' in some vernaculars. The name is true to its captivating grace, for कादम्बरी is name of 'wine'. And Kādambarī maddens the heart and gladdens the soul, like the proverbial liquor. And Bhṛṅga assures us that readers intoxicated by the wine of Bāṇa's poetry would hardly notice the inferiority of his supplement to his father's magnum opus cp (कादम्बरीरसमरेण समस्त एव मत्तो न विञ्चिदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् । भीतोऽस्मि यत्र रसार्णविवञ्जितेन तच्छेषमात्मवचसाप्यनुमन्द्धान् ॥—कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग Intro v 7) Another proverb also tells us how the relish of कादम्बरी makes one forget food as la wine. (कादम्बरीरस-ज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते । कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥), Govardhanaçārya feels that Sarasvatī personally has taken the form of Bāṇa (वाणी वाणी वनूव) "Bāṇa's words breathe a freshness of vigour that bespeaks a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian scenery offers to the poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even amongst oriental poets" (Kṛṣṇamācariar). The Kādambarī is hailed by all as the greatest work in the field of Sanskrit गद्यकाव्य Aptty has Açārya Pathak said that if Harṣacarita is a historical narrative of this world, the Kādambarī is a poetic presentation bringing heaven to the earth.

"Bāṇa's far-famed Kādambarī is rightly reckoned as his masterpiece. In it his imagination takes rapid and sublime flight—thought succeeds thought and one simile is followed by another till the chain is so extended that one loses sight of the master idea which is smothered in his luxuriant imagery. His memory survey the whole field of Indian history and mythology and his extensiv

acquaintance with Sanskrit vocabulary brings in words and expressions not familiar to even advanced students of the language. It is especially popular among the Pandits on account of this feature as well as its unique character. But it is inaccessible to ordinary students owing to its most difficult and long compounds, as well as obscure and double meaning words, and allusions to strange mythological events" (Kale).

A Summary of the Kādambari. Bāna begins Kādambari with a salutation to the Unborn Supreme Being which is the cause of the उत्पत्ति, स्थिति and लय of the Universe. Next he salutes the dust from the feet of Lord Ś'iva. Then homage is paid to Viṣṇu (ऽनन्द). Then Bāna salutes his Guru Bharvu who was honoured by the योनिरि and their vassals. There is then a censure of the wicked, a praise of the good and a praise of मुनायित i. e. good literature. Then Bāna tells us how a कथा which is स्फुरत्कलाकल्प-विगसकोमला delights like an अभिनवा वयु. In v 9 are indicated the qualities of a good कथा (i) नक्षयदायि (ii) निरुत्तर दशोद (iii) मुजाति (The earlier verse has emphasized 'sweet diction' and 'rasas') In v 10 is mentioned Kubera, an illustrious scion of the वासुधायनवध, who was honoured by many a Guptas (अनेकगुप्तावित-पादपदकन). His was a house replete with Vedic traditions of learning and ritual. His son was अर्यपति who was also a great teacher and a great sacrificer. One of अर्यपति's sons was चित्रमानु. चित्रमानु was a person of noble virtues and was a great sacrificer. His son was वापमदृ. He has composed this 'उत्तिष्ठती कथा' viz कदाचि. Now begins the narrative.

There was a great Indra-like King, Ś'udraka by name. He was a very powerful ruler and ruled his subjects with great efficiency and affection. His capital was the city of विदिगा on the river वशवती. He was aided by many competent ministers in his governance. And he was accompanied by several talented princes of like age and aptitudes. He was temperamentally averse to lovesports, and even with a bevy of beautiful queens, passed his time away from lovesports, in various intellectual or artistic pursuits.

One day, in early morning a doorkeeper reported to the king of the arrival of a certain चण्डालकथा with a parrot in a cage in her

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king. The king directed that she be ushered in. The Cāṇḍāla girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself. The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मातृङ्ग and followed by a चाण्डाल boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the craeter created such a flawless form in the Cāṇḍāla community. The girl made obeissance to the king, and then the old मातृङ्ग presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Cāṇḍāla princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor Sūdraka.

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king, who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assembly-hall directing the Cāṇḍalakanya to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed Śiva worship, after duly paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food. Then in the afternoon, while resting in his आस्थानमण्डप he got वैशम्पायन the parrot fetched there. And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and Śāstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Cāṇḍālas and the like. The parrot said 'Your majesty, it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire.

The Parrot's Narrative:—There is a great forest on the Vindhya mountain. Therein there was a hermitage which was once inhabited by अगस्त्य, लोपामुद्रा and their son दृढदक्षु. That hermitage was hallowed by many a memory connected with the stay there of राम, सीता and लक्ष्मण in their वनवास. Near about that place was the beautiful lake पम्पा. On the western bank of पम्पा there was a mighty शाल्मली tree. On that tree there dwelt hundreds of birds. There I was born as a lone child of my parents, in a hollow of that tree. My mother died of the pains of child-labour, and my aged father brought me up with all care and affection.

One day early in the morning there arose a great uproar of a hunting expedition. I sheltered in the wings of my father, through terror. Soon came a big group of hunters raising loud shouts. There were shrieks and screams of wild animals and barking of dogs. And then a sort of calm descended on the area. I tried to have a peeping look at things outside from the hollow.

I saw then a big Sabara army marching towards our place, and in the midst of that I saw the commander of the Sabaras, whose name I learnt to be महाद्वय later on. He came and rested under the Salmali tree for a while and marched ahead with his army. But an old Sabara tarried behind, cast his covetous, greedy eyes at the tree and climbed it to catch the young ones of parrots in the hollows. He went on killing them one after another, dropping them on the ground, and gradually he reached our hollow, pulled out my father, killed him and threw his body down, not noticing—luckily for me—me, who was concealed under my father's wings. I luckily fell on a heap of dry leaves, and before the Sabara came down. I somehow crawled some distance away to the foot of a big Tamala tree. When the Sabara climbed down and collecting his kill went in the same direction as his commander, I, now impelled by extreme thirst, tried to move towards some water reservoir. While making my way with great difficulty I reflected over the urge to survive, which is uppermost than anything in beings. How I was keen on survival, rather than follow my father in death—my father who had done so much and so affectionately for me right from the day of my birth, when my mother died, in spite of the advanced age of his. I found the sun very hot, the water front was fairly away still. I felt dazed and almost longed for death. Just then हारीत a hermit boy, son of the great sage जारुति, whose आश्रम was nearby, came to that lotus-lake for his bath. He took compassion on me, on noticing me, took me to the water-front, put a few drops of water in my beak, whereby I felt refreshed, and when he returned home after his bath he took me home. I saw the holy आश्रम, that resembled Brahmaoka.

There I saw the sage जारुति. I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king. The king directed that she be ushered in. The Capitala girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself. The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मन्त्रज्ञ and followed by a पाण्ड्य boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the creator created such a flawless form in the Capitala community. The girl made obeisance to the king and then the old मन्त्रज्ञ presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Capitala princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor Sudrika.

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assembly-hall directing the Capitalakanya to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed Siva worship, after duly paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food. Then in the afternoon while resting in his भास्वानमरण he got वैशम्पायन the parrot fetched there. And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and Śāstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Capitalas and the like. The parrot said 'Your majesty it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire.

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There I saw the sage जगदालि. I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

where all animosities seemed to have subsided हारीत placed me under an *Asoka* tree and saluted his father, and sat on a *Darbha* seat nearby. The sages in the hermitage asked him about the information relating to me. Harita narrated how he found me under a tree, how he could not climb the tall tree to replace me in my hollow and how he brought me to the hermitage to be reared up till I grew up and became capable of flying in the sky. Then I may go or stay as I choose. Jabali's attention too was drawn towards me, he looked at me with compassion, remembered my earlier life and remarked "This bird is reaping the fruit of his folly (in previous birth)". The sages in the hermitage eagerly solicited जादालि to narrate the story of my previous life. The sage replied, "It is a long tale, and now evening is fast approaching. Let us complete our evening rites, and let this parrot also be refreshed. Then I would narrate you the story by which the parrot would also remember his earlier birth." Then night fell. When after evening rites and food the sages gathered together, हारीत requested his father to tell the narrative about me. And sage Jabali began his narrative as follows (Here ends the *वचामुख* and Jabali's narrative begins).

Jabali's Narrative — There was in the country of *Avantis* a city named *उज्जयिनी* on the bank of *Sipra*, hallowed by the presence of the *Mahakala*. The city was ruled by an eminent king named *साराणीड*. He was the sovereign of the entire Indian subcontinent. His was a very prosperous kingdom. He had a very wise minister by name *शुक्नास*. He left the task of administering the well established kingdom to the able minister *शुक्नास* and enjoyed various pleasures of youth. But as he began to advance in age gradually and still was childless, he was very much worried and dejected by childlessness. The chief Queen of that king was *Vilasavati*, a very beautiful and noble woman.

One day, the king visiting her apartments found her in great dejection, weeping. He very solicitously inquired of the cause of her grief. But finding that she did not reply to his query, he inquired of the attendants. And then the Queen's betel bearer maid *Makarika* told the king that the grief of sonlessness was the

cause of her anguish. She has been grieving over it for quite some time but just that day which was a शुक्रती, she had been to worship Mahakala and she heard from the Mahabharata reader there that a soulless person does not attain heaven. This had increased her grief all the more.

The king consoled the Queen with a very feeling and eloquent advice. He recommended to her to still increase her practice of divine worship, vows and holy rites for पुत्रप्राप्ति. The Queen did accordingly.

One day in the early hours of morning तारापीड saw in a dream the orb of the moon entering the mouth of विलम्बिनी. He told about that dream to शुक्रनाम, who told the king that it was a very auspicious dream which indicated the birth of a son to the king and the queen very soon. Even शुक्रनाम had a propitious dream that very day when he saw a Brahmin place a lotus in the lap of शुक्रनाम's wife मनोरमा. This indicated the birth of a son to शुक्रनाम and मनोरमा. The king along with शुक्रनाम saw the Queen and told her about both these auspicious dreams.

In due course दिगम्बरा conceived. The news was conveyed to the king by a maid कुलवधना. The king was highly delighted and so too was the Queen. A son was born in due course. The पुत्रज मोक्ष was observed with great eclat. Very soon after that time a son was born to शुक्रनाम and मनोरमा. The two boys grew up and when they were of the schooling age the king got a special विद्यामन्दिर prepared, staffed it with a highly qualified staff and put Candrapida (his son) with Var-ampayana (शुक्रनाम's son) in that विद्यामन्दिर. And Candrapida soon mastered all the lore of the day. He and Var-ampayana became intimate friends.

Then when चन्द्रपीड completed his education the king sent his general बलाहक to bring him from the विद्यामन्दिर. At that time an excellent horse इन्द्रायुध was presented to चन्द्रपीड by the king. चन्द्रपीड was wonderstruck to see the matchless horse.

Candrapida mounted Indrayudha and accompanied by a posse of princes on horseback sent by his father, started for the city. As he entered the city people thronged in streets and doors.

to see him. The prince duly reached the palace. He paid his respects to his father and mother. Then he paid respects to शुक्रनास. And then he came to the mansion earmarked for him. At night he again called on his parents, paid homage to them, returned to his palace and slept for the night.

Next morning he went on a hunting expedition. Next day he was given an attendant maiden named पद्मलेखा, a daughter of the king of Kulutas, she was to be treated with great consideration and confidence. Chandrapida found her a very devoted attendant. In due course सारापीड planned for the यौवराज्याभिषेक of चन्द्रापीड. On the eve of this यौवराज्याभिषेक, शुकनास gave a very worthy advice to चन्द्रापीड. He advised चन्द्रापीड to be on the guard against the indiscretions of youth and passion and the wayward behaviour of wealth. Then on an auspicious day चन्द्रापीड was installed as a यवराज. Next चन्द्रापीड started on a दिक्विजययात्रा. He conquered the whole world in three years and after going round the whole world in that way, he happened to reach सुवर्णपुर, a residence of Kiratas, which was near Kailasa and eastern ocean (1) and there he decided to halt for a while to refresh his armies.

One day he espied there a किन्नरमिथुन and went in pursuit thereof. He quickly went for a distance of 15 योजन in that single pursuit and ultimately found the couple scaling the heights of a lofty peak, with himself stranded behind. Then he realised the vainness of his pursuit and knowing that northern limit of the world ended the north of सुवर्णपुर, and then there lay a forest uninhabited by man and then came Kailasa, which he had already reached, he turned back to seek his way to his camp by keeping to the south. But as it was noon, he thought of refreshing his horse and himself by some water and some fodder for his horse. So he started in quest of some lake. And soon he came across a very beautiful lake named अच्छोद. He refreshed himself and Indrayudha there and rested for some time. Then he heard the notes of music. Going in quest of their origin he saw a Siva temple. There he saw a young girl very white in complexion playing on the flute and singing in praise of the Lord. He got down from his horse, tied his horse to a branch of a tree and went

to the Śiva temple, saluted Śiva and intently gazed at that divine damsel. He was very much struck by her divine beauty and form, he became eager to inquire about her personal information and so waited there patiently till the singing came to an end. When the song ended, Mahās'veta noticed Candrāpīda and requested him to accept her hospitality as a guest, which he did after profuse requests to be spared of these formalities. After partaking of the simple fare offered, Candrāpīda very modestly requested the young girl to tell about herself. The girl remained silent for a moment and then began to shed tears. And then she proceeded to narrate her account as follows —

Mahās'veta's Narrative.—There are fourteen families of Aparasas and two families of गन्धर्व's. One of the families of गन्धर्व's was ruled by चित्ररथ son of दक्षप्रजापति's daughter मुनि and the other गन्धर्व family was ruled by हस, the son of दक्षप्रजापति's another daughter अरिष्ठा. This हस was married to गौरी who was born in that family of Aparasas which was born from सोम. I was born as the only daughter of that couple, and was very fondly brought up by my parents and duly attained youth. One day, with my mother I came for bath to the ब्रह्मोद lake. Then while wandering here and there I smelt an extremely divine fragrance. And being attracted by it, I moved ahead and saw a very lustrous and beautiful मुनिकुमार accompanied by another young ascetic boy as his companion.

And beholding that matchlessly beautiful young ascetic I fell in love with him. And when I, trying to curb my emotion, saluted him, he too forthwith fell in love with me. I then inquired of the friend of that youth about the youth and about the fragrant blossom he carried. He replied. There is a great sage by name श्वेतकेतु. One day he had gone to गङ्गा for collecting lotuses for divine worship. There he was seen by Lakṣmī, who was affected by cupid at his sight, and by a mental consummation of union with him got a son. She handed over the son to श्वेतकेतु, who duly brought him up and named him पुण्डरीक. This is the same as that young ascetic. The blossom he is wearing on his ears is of पारिजात from the नन्दनवन, presented to him by a नन्दनवनदवता and worn with

reluctance by him. The young ascetic offered to me that blossom and placed it on my ear. We both were thrilled by the consequent mutual touch. He inadvertently dropped down his rosary, which I caught in the air and put round my neck. Just then there came a maid-servant, and she reminded me that it was almost time for our return, and so I should complete my bath. I, with great difficulty, moved away from that place and then the friend of the मुनिकुमार began to chide him for his mental agitation as follows: "O Pundarika, how is it that you have been so swept away by passion? It hardly becomes your penance and self-control. You have already lost the rosary. At least do not lose your heart." Pundarika tried to be stiff towards me and demanded back his rosary, only to receive a pearl necklace, which he took without noticing it. I then returned and remained utterly lost in love. Just then came my ताम्बूलकरज्जवाहिनी named तरलिका, who had tarried for a while and who brought now with her a love letter from Pundarika. I was enthralled to read it and talked about पुण्डरीक with तरलिका.

At about sunset there came the छत्रवाहिनी reporting that one of the कपिकुमार has come to the door, asking for the ब्रह्मनाल. When he was brought in, he reported the lovelorn and desperate condition of पुण्डरीक. Just then my mother came to see me, and Kapiñjala, that ऋषिकुमार hastily returned. After my mother returned, I in early night discussed the matter with तरलिका, and I left, love lorn myself too, to meet my lord. There was ominous throbbing of my right eye. When I reached near the place, I heard the loud laments of Kapiñjala over the death of पुण्डरीक. Then I lamented long and bitterly. At this stage of the narrative महाश्वता broke down and fainted. Candrapida revived her. Then even though चन्द्रापीड requested her to discontinue the narrative she continued. When I was thinking of consuming myself to fire a divine being, coming from the orb of the moon, took away the corpse of पुण्डरीक, telling me not to commit suicide, as I would be reunited with पुण्डरीक again. Kapiñjala flew in the sky after that divine being. Then I decided to stay there in penance, awaiting for the day of reunion, rejecting all efforts of my father to wean me away from this resolve to lead an ascetic life. Gand-

rāpida then very eloquently consoled Mahā'svetā and told her that she had done everything possible for a beloved to do for her lover, and she should never think of अनुमरण अनुमरण is not a resort of the heroic but of cowards, strange though this may seem! It is an admission of inability to stand up to the trials and tribulations of life अनुमरण does good neither to the dead nor to the dying There is no guarantee that अनुमरण can reunite the अनुमृत with the मृत On the other hand it brings the sin of suicide So we should follow the path of a courageous facing of hardships Great ladies like कुन्ती, उत्तरा, दुःशला and others have also not taken to अनुमरण And particularly महाश्वेता, having the assurance of reunion given by the divine being, hardly has any justification for अनुमरण. She should continue to hope for the great day Just then the sun set. Both महाश्वेता and चन्द्रपीड prepared to retire for night. Talking then, चन्द्रपीड inquired where तरलिका was then. She told Prince, there is the Gandharva king चित्ररथ, who has married मदिता born of the family of Apsaras born of nectar. They have one daughter, named वादम्बरी She has been my childhood companion. On hearing my misfortune वादम्बरी decided not to marry till I was again happy The Gandharva king had therefore sent a Kaṅcukin क्षीरोद to me to try my hand at persuading Kādambari to change her decision, and I have sent तरलिका with a message of appeal to वादम्बरी.

Next morning तरलिका returned with a Gandharva lad देवूरक, the lute-carrier of Kādambari, who conveyed Kādambari's return-message confirming her decision to remain unmarried till महाश्वेता was reunited with her lover Mahā'sveta sent back Keyuraka with the words I shall personally speak to Kādambari about this

After Keyuraka returned, महाश्वेता suggested that Candrāpida can accompany her to चित्ररथ's realm, if he would not mind He agreed and duly came to the palace of वादम्बरी He was introduced by महाश्वेता to वादम्बरी in suitable terms and was received with great regard Needless to say that चन्द्रपीड and वादम्बरी fell in love at first sight

Then Mahādveta went to see the parents of Kādambari, who had called her, and चन्द्रपीड was lodged in a mansion on a श्रीडापवंत. There चन्द्रपीड was sent a priceless necklace as a present by कादम्बरी. After staying there for a couple of days चन्द्रपीड returned, with his love for कादम्बरी and vice versa, being firmly established. He returned to the hermitage of महाश्वेता, where he met his followers who had come up there in his quest. Next day he saw वेदुरा, arriving with materials of hotel and the forgotten necklace sent by Kādambari. Keyūra informed him about the lovelorn condition of Kādambari. Candrapida made another trip to Hemakūta, this time accompanied by Patralekhā. And then he soon returned to his camp, keeping behind पत्रलेखा at Kādambari's request. At the camp he found a messenger, who had been sent by king Tarapida. तारापीड had called back Candrapida, who was away quite some time, immediately, and so too वैशम्पायन was called back by सुकनास. Both of them started back with their army. चन्द्रपीड kept behind मेघनाद, son of his commander to escort home पत्रलेखा when she returned from Hemakūta. He also sent a message of touching farewell to Kādambari and Mahādveta, hoping to meet them sometime in future. And asking वैशम्पायन to come with the army at a slower pace, चन्द्रपीड himself started home at great speed with a few picked horsemen. In the evening he reached a चण्डिकायतन, where a जरद-द्रविड घामिव was in charge. He halted there that night, next morning marched ahead and soon reached Ujjayini.

He was very gladly greeted by his parents. He paid respects to सुकनास and मनोरमा and went to his mansion. He remained awaiting the arrival of पत्रलेखा, who came after some days. He asked her in confidence of things connected with कादम्बरी and महाश्वेता. पत्रलेखा told in detail of कादम्बरी's love-sickness. She told how she told Kādambari that she would return to bring back her lord. Kādambari wondered how she could frame a suitable message to Candrapida. (And here Bīṣa's narrative comes to an abrupt end.)

(Bhāṣya continues.) Kādambari was very much over-poursed by lovelornness. She conceded the request of पत्रलेखा of returning to bring back चन्द्रपीड. पत्रलेखा returned and told about

कदम्बरी's love sick condition to चन्द्रापीड चन्द्रापीड was very anxious and did not know what to do just then After some days Keyuraka arrived and conveyed Kadambari's still more desperately lovesick condition Candrapida was in a fix as to how he could return to हेमकूट without informing his parents, and how he should tell about his love, to them He badly wanted वैशम्पायन to be near him to advise Just then he heard that the army he left behind with वैशम्पायन in charge, was near and so decided to send केयूरक and पद्मलेखा in advance to Kadambari, promising that he would soon follow King तारापीड started thinking about the marriage of Candrapida चन्द्रापीड felt that the arrival of वैशम्पायन would make his marriage with कदम्बरी a near possibility when his father was now thinking of it चन्द्रापीड started to meet वैशम्पायन When he reached the army-camp he was shocked to hear of वैशम्पायन's absence And on inquiries he learnt as follows वैशम्पायन, before starting the return journey wanted to bathe in the holy Achoda lake and worship Lord Siva When he went there he was so lost in an indescribable mental agitation that he just refused to move away from that place in spite of the entreaties of his companions He advised them to return and said that he would return when he got into a proper mood For three days the companions waited, hoping that वैशम्पायन would come and ultimately leaving sufficient provender for him started the return journey When चन्द्रापीड heard this he was totally at a loss to understand why वैशम्पायन acted that way He thought he should straightway go in quest of वैशम्पायन But he decided to first report matters back to Ujjayini and then leave for the search of वैशम्पायन, and he may use the opportunity to meet Kadambari as well So he returned He called on शुकनास whose place was already being visited then by the king and the queen The king chided Candrapida for negligence Sukanasa interceded powerfully on Candrapida's behalf roundly blaming वैशम्पायन for his own folly तारापीड told शुकनास that he had been too harsh in criticising वैशम्पायन चन्द्रापीड volunteered to go to bring वैशम्पायन home and was duly permitted to do so He proceeded forthwith, dreaming of the recovery of वैशम्पायन meeting महाश्वेता, meeting marriage and lovesports with Kadambari marrying वैशम्पायन with पद्मलेखा etc ! On the way there came the rainy season which caused a lot of

discomfort by heavy showers. On the way he saw मेघनाद returning and asked him about वैशम्पायन. But he reported that he had returned before reaching अच्छोद at the insistence of पत्रलेखा and केयूरक, who advised मेघनाद to return, as चन्द्रापीड may not come in autumn that side so he could go back, because there was no point in his waiting for चन्द्रापीड's arrival very soon and he better return in good time to Ujjayini. They were confident of making their way ahead.

Candrapida then reached अच्छोद. He did not find any trace of वैशम्पायन and decided to inquire of महाश्वेता about him. He was surprised to see महाश्वेता weeping bitterly. On inquiring she replied when I returned from Gandharvaloka here, I saw a young person. He began to woo me and when he pressed his suit persistently I cursed him to be a parrot. And then I learnt that he was your friend. Hearing about this unhappy end of वैशम्पायन, चन्द्रापीड fell dead. Tarakka and Candrapida's retinue began to lament. And just then came on the scene वादम्बरी with पत्रलेखा, for seeing चन्द्रापीड. She was over-whelmed by seeing चन्द्रापीड dead. She wanted to burn herself with चन्द्रापीड's corpse. But just then some resplendent lustre came out of चन्द्रापीड's body, and a voice in heaven told that चन्द्रापीड's body should be guarded and protected there till he is once more revived as he would be. पुण्डरीक's body is also well-guarded in चन्द्रलोक. All were surprised. But पत्रलेखा leading इन्द्रामुष with her, jumped in अच्छोद. Out of अच्छोद rose up वर्पिञ्जल who informed महाश्वेता thus. When I went after that divine person who had taken away पुण्डरीक's body, I reached चन्द्रलोक in that process. There the person told me that he was the Moon. He was cursed by Pundarika dying of lovesickness that the moon, who is bringing about his death by excruciating rays shall more than once be born in this mortal world, and falling in love would die before being united with his beloved. The moon, cursed for no fault of his, retaliated by a counter curse that पुण्डरीक would be sharing his joys and sorrows. Then realising how this पुण्डरीक was the lover of महाश्वेता his descendant, the moon directed me to go to स्वतसेतु, who perhaps would find a way through this mess, while पुण्डरीक's body is well-guarded in चन्द्रलोक. When I left towards my destination I absentmindedly jolted

against a wrathful वैमानिक who cursed me to a horse. On intercession he ordained that I shall become the horse of Candrapīda, son of Tarapīda, who (Candrapīda) would be the moon reborn. My friend पुण्डरीक was to be born as वैशम्पायन. I was to regain my form when I would bathe after my master's death. I remembered these things and intentionally brought Candrapīda in the Kinnara's pursuit to that region. Vaiśampayana was none else than पुण्डरीक and so through previous attachment tried to woo Mahās̥veta. At least two births of unrequited love shall have to be spent by the moon with Puṇḍarīka as his companion.

Mahās̥veta was overwhelmed by grief on hearing this account. Kapīṅjala consoled her by saying that she should carry on with her penance with a faith in divine dispensations, which are bound to be realised. Kādambarī asked: What happened to पत्रलेखा? Kapīṅjala said: I do not know but I shall forthwith go to इक्ष्वाकु and seek information of the next birth of चन्द्रपीड, पुण्डरीक and also about the subsequent information about पत्रलेखा. Kādambarī and Mahās̥veta waited with hope. Some messengers from तारापीड arrived and went back to report matters as they stood. Torn between grief and hope, तारापीड, विल्यामवती, शुक्नास and मनोरमा accompanied by some retinue came where the body of चन्द्रपीड was lying; and remained waiting there. Here Jabali concluded by saying that the parrot before them was वैशम्पायन cursed by महाश्वेता to become a शुक. The शुक now remembered everything and inquired of जाबालि as to what had happened to his friend चन्द्रपीड. The sage counselled it against impatience and asked it to wait till its wings became strong. Then it may inquire. Harita inquired why पुण्डरीक was overpowered by love and why he was short lived. Jabali answered that he was born of रक्षोवीर्य only and so he was so. Jabali then ended his tale.

While हरीत attended (continues the parrot) on me, who was uneasy and desirous of going away in quest of my lost kith and kin, there came Kapīṅjala from Śvetaketu's hermitage in search of me. He told me how इक्ष्वाकु by divine vision had come to know what had befallen पुण्डरीक, how he started counterremedies, how he himself, when freed from the birth of a horse, went to

श्वेतकेतु, how श्वेतकेतु told him that वैशम्पायन was born as a parrot but advised him not to visit वैशम्पायन just now how one day श्वेतकेतु advised him to go to जाबालि's hermitage to meet वैशम्पायन viz myself in the present parrot's birth, who had now remembered my earlier birth. He conveyed to me a message from श्वेतकेतु that I should stay at जाबालि's feet till the proper time comes for my release from the parrot's birth. I was also informed how my mother in my पुण्डरीक birth was interested in saving me. Kapiljāla and myself talked for a long time on these matters and then कपिञ्जल returned to श्वेतकेतु's आश्रम.

After I grew strong one day I flew away to the north. On the way I was caught in a snare by a fowler who had done so on instructions of the daughter of a Malāṅga chief. I was taken to her. She kept me in a prison. I first refused to take any food but later, on an appeal by the Candala girl, relented. When I was grown up the Candalākanya put me in a cage and brought it to your majesty. Why she brought me here who she was etc, I do not know. (Here ends the parrot's tale.)

King Sūdraka became eager to know about these matters and inquired of the Candala girl apropos these. She told how Sūdraka was Candrapīda, the parrot was पुण्डरीक and she herself was लक्ष्मी. Now that she had brought the two friends together, her task was done. They shall now regain their original divine forms. With these words Lakṣmī flew up in the sky.

Sūdraka and Vaiṣampayana then abandoned their bodies and Candrapīda and Puṇḍarīka were duly revived. Both couples and all their relatives met in highest bliss and there was joy all around. Candrapīda was duly entrusted with the kingship. He entrusted administration to पुण्डरीक and used to pass his time ever afterwards now in उज्जयिनी, now on हेमकट, now on the banks of अञ्छोद and now in चद्रलोक. And both couples thus attained highest bliss in mutual company.

Sources of Bāṇa's Kadambari:—Bāṇa obviously seems to have derived his plot of Kadambari from the story of king Sumanas (सुमनास in बृहत्कथामञ्जरी) as told in the Bṛhatkathā of

Guṇādhyā. The बृहत्कथा, a work written in Pāṣāṇī language is not available now, but two Sanskrit abridgements of the work are available viz. सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी. (M. Lacote has brought out a third redaction of the बृहत्कथा) The बृहत्कथा has served as a popular source of material and inspiration for many later writers, and Bāṇa (who has expressed his admiration for बृहत्कथा in हर्ष. Intro v 17) has based his कादम्बरी story on the story of king Sumanas occurring in बृहत्कथा and occurring in कथासरित्सागर, लम्बक X, तरङ्ग III vv. 22-179. (N. S. Edn), and बृहत्कथामञ्जरी XVI 138-251 (N. S. Edn) We give now a summary of this कथासरित्सागर narrative. A comparison of the story of the कादम्बरी with this original will show to what extent Bāṇa has based his work on the story of king सुमन्सु, and how far he has modified, moulded or improved on the popular tale to serve his purpose, and to infuse life and vigour in the somewhat dry narrative in his original.

A Summary of Kathāsaritsagara, Lambaka X, Taraṅga III, vv. 22-179.—There was a city named काञ्चतपुरी. There ruled a great king named Sumanas. One day, when he was in his assembly-hall, a door-keeper informed him that a daughter of a Niṣāda chief, by name Mukhalata, was at the door, with a parrot in a cage and her brother Viraprabha accompanying her, and that she wanted to see the king. She was permitted an interview with the king, and as she entered the assembly hall, all people were impressed by her charm. She presented that parrot named Śaś'tragan̄ja, well-versed in all lore and arts to the king. It uttered a verse in honour of the king and also offered to give evidence of its śāstric proficiency. The king was surprised, and his ministers suggested that the parrot may be some sage undergoing a curse. The king requested the parrot to tell its account and it narrated as follows —

(The Parrot's Tale) Near Himālayas on a रोहिणीतर I was born to a parrot couple. I lost my mother just at my birth and my father brought me up. One day a Bhilla army came there on a hunting expedition. One old Śābara came to the tree of our residence in the evening, and pulling out many a bird from their nests, and killing them, through them down. I lurked in my

father's feathers. My father was also killed by that S'abara and thrown under the tree. I made my escape by concealing under grass and leaves. I passed that night in great sorrow and next morning, being thirsty, proceeded towards a lotus lake. There I was seen by a sage named मरीचि, who took pity on me, put some drops of water in my beak and placing me in a leaf-bowl took me to his hermitage. There the कुलपति पुलस्त्य laughed as he looked at me. He then told the others how I was a sage turned into a parrot by a curse, and then in the afternoon told them my account.

(Pulastya's Narrative) There was in the city of रत्नाकर a king named ज्योतिष्प्रभ. He had a queen named हृषिकेशी. They got a son through S'iva's favour. The name of the son was सोमप्रभ. When the prince grew up, he was installed as युवराज, and he was given as his minister प्रियकर son of his minister प्रभाकर. Just then मातलि came from heaven and presented सोमप्रभ with a horse आशु-श्रवा (son of उच्चैःश्रवस्), because सोमप्रभ was Indra's friend, a विद्याधर born as a human being, and so this victory bringing horse was presented by Indra to him.

Then prince सोमप्रभ started on an expedition of दिग्विजय. Conquering various kings he reached the Himalayan regions, where he indulged in मगद for a while. Having seen a किन्नर he tried to pursue it, but the किन्नर gave him a slip, only leading him far away from his camp, in the pursuit. It was evening when he started back and seeing a lake he decided to halt on its bank for the night. He first fed and refreshed his horse and then rested for a while, when he heard some song near about. Going in quest of the source of it, he happened to see a divine young girl, singing before an image of Lord S'iva. She saw him, welcomed him as a guest and both asked about each other. Then after the Prince told information about himself, the girl (मनोरथप्रभा) began her account as follows.

(Manorathaprabha's Narrative) There is a city named वाञ्छनाभ on the slopes of हिमालय. There lives a lord of Vidyadharas named पद्मदत्त there. I am his daughter loved more than a son, born of a Queen named हेमप्रभा. My name

15 मनोरथप्रभा. One day when I was wandering on the bank of this lake with a lady-friend of mine, I saw a young मुनिकुमार with a friend of his. We both (viz the मुनिकुमार and myself) were greatly impressed with each other. My friend asked of his friend about the मुनिकुमार's personal information. He said There lives in a hermitage nearby a sage named दीधिति; he, a brahmacharin once came for bath to this lake and was seen by Lakṣmī Lakṣmī, without physical union, got a son from the sage on account of mutual love, and she handed over the son to the sage, who brought him up and named him as रश्मिमान्. The मुनिकुमार under reference was this रश्मिमान् son of दीधिति and लक्ष्मी. My friend told then about my ancestry, and we both fell in love. Just then another lady friend of mine came there with a message from my father calling me back, as it was time for food. Just as I finished my food, I heard from my lady-friend that the friend of रश्मिमान् had come to see me on behalf of his friend. That friend told how रश्मिमान् was overcome by cupid and could not live without मनोरथप्रभा. By the time I went to meet him I found that रश्मिमान् had already died at moonrise. I wanted to consume myself to fire with the corpse of my lover. But some lustrous divine being came there from heaven and went away to heaven taking रश्मिमान्'s body with him. A divine voice asked me not burn myself, when I tried to do so alone. The voice assured me that I would again meet my lord. And so here I am, propitiating Śiva, and longing for reunion with my lord. I do not know where the friend of रश्मिमान् went.

Hearing this narrative of मनोरथप्रभा, सोमप्रभ asked her where her lady-friend was. To that query she replied. There is a विद्यापर king named सिंहविजय. He has a daughter मकरन्दिका. That girl is a very close friend of mine and she is very grieved on account my misfortune. She had sent a friend of hers today to inquire about me and I have sent my friend to her along with her friend. So I am alone just now. Just then came the lady friend of मनोरथप्रभा.

They all spent the night there. Next morning came a विद्याधर, named दशजय. He had been sent by king सिंहविजय requesting

मनोरथप्रभा to come at his place and try to make मकरन्दिका think of marriage, which she is refusing on account of the postponed marriage of मनोरथप्रभा. When मनोरथप्रभा prepared to start, गोमप्रभ expressed his desire to visit the विद्याधरशोक and मनोरथप्रभा gladly took him there, leaving आशुधवा well provided for, behind. When they reached their destination सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका mutually fell in love. मनोरथप्रभा settled their marriage in consultation with the elders, telling मकरन्दिका that she need not delay her marriage, for her sake because her marriage is already fixed, she is only awaiting its solemnisation.

गोमप्रभ suggested that he should first go back to the hermitage of मनोरथप्रभा, where he would like to meet his army, which would be searching for him and worried about him. He would then return to सिद्धविश्वस place for the marriage. When this was agreed to and he returned to the hermitage, he met his friend प्रियकर with the army and told प्रियकर all that had happened. Just then came a messenger from सोमप्रभ's father calling him back. So the son, in obedience to his father's command, started homewards, telling मनोरथप्रभा and the विद्याधर देवजय who had accompanied them upto the hermitage that that he would soon return. देवजय conveyed this information to मकरन्दिका who was very disconsolate through lovelornness. Her parents tried their best to comfort her but finding her disconsolate still, मकरन्दिका's father cursed her to be born in the निषाद community for a while, which happened accordingly. The repentent सिद्धविश्वस died in grief along with his wife. He first became a sage and then due to some earlier unrequited demerit a parrot, and his wife became an अरण्यमूकरी. This parrot remembered his learning of previous life through तपोवल्. Thinking of these vicissitudes of this parrot's life, said Pulastya I laughed. He further said that this parrot, when he would tell the story in the royal court would be free from that birth. And रामप्रभ would meet मकरन्दिका that daughter of सिद्धविश्वस in his विद्याधर birth as a निषादी. And so also मनोरथप्रभा would obtain रक्षिमान who is born now as a king as her husband. रामप्रभ, having seen his father, went to the आश्रम and is there propitiating Lord शिव to get his beloved (who by her father's curse has become a निषादी.) Pulastya stopped telling this narrative and

I remembered the previous life with joy and grief. The sage गरीचि brought me up. I, on my wings being grown, flew here and there displaying my lore till I was caught by निपादः and was brought to your majesty. And now has ended my sin which had made me a parrot. On hearing this narrative king सुमनसः too had a mental extacy. Just then Lord Siva, who was pleased, told Somaprabha to go to the court of Sumanas, where he would meet his beloved as a निपादकन्या named मुक्तालता with her father as a parrot in cage. They both (सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका) would regain their previous status. So also Siva asked मनोरथप्रभा to come to the court of सुमनसः who was रविमान. There these two lovers too would be reunited in their original form. All the four, so also the parrot, regain their form and fortune !

Baṇa's handling of this source —It would be noticed, if we compare this story with the Kādambarī narrative, that but for change of names of persons and places the two stories run very close from the beginning upto the return of चन्द्रपीड to उज्जयिनी after his visits to हम्बूट. The two minor changes are that while in कथामरित्सागर version सोमप्रभ volunteers to accompany मनोरथप्रभा on her visit to सिद्धविक्कम's place, in Kādambarī महाश्वेता suggests that चन्द्रपीड may accompany her to चित्ररथ's place. Secondly in कथामरित्सागर, मनोरथप्रभा arranges the betrothal of सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका at the time of this visit under reference, while in कादम्बरी, no betrothal is done, though चन्द्रपीड and कादम्बरी fall in love mutually. In the latter part of the story the two versions fall out to a great extent. In the कथामरित्सागर version, मकरन्दिका who had become lovelorn on the departure of सोमप्रभ, was cursed by her own father to be a निपादी when मकरन्दिका could not be made to give up her melancholy mood. Then her father himself died and became a parrot. He narrated his account in the court of सुमनस (who was रविमान, lover of मनोरथप्रभा, in a new birth). Then the parrot, the निपादी who brought it there and king Sumanas regained their earlier forms. Somaprabha and Manorathaprabha are directed to that place by Siva and the two couples and सिद्धविक्कम meet in all happiness. In कादम्बरी Candrapīda went back to Ujjayinī leaving वैशम्पायन to accompany the army on its return

journey at a leisurely pace. But when the army reached back it was found that Vaiṣampāyana had not returned because for some unknown reason, he insisted to stay back on the banks of Acchoda lake. Candrapīḍa came there to take him back. But he found that Vaiṣampāyana had vanished. On inquiring of महाश्वेता he learnt that he had solicited love of Mahāśvetā and she had cursed him to be a parrot. Hearing that, Candrapīḍa too died. Kadambarī, who had reached there just then, was preparing to die herself but an आकाशवाणी intervened and told her to preserve Candrapīḍa's corpse, for Candrapīḍa would be revived. Patralekhā entered the Acchoda with Indrayudha and out came Kapinjala (who was born as Indrayudha). From Kapinjala महाश्वेता learnt that वैशम्पायन whom she had cursed to be a parrot, was the same as पुण्डरीक.

When Jabālī told this narrative, the parrot remembered its earlier birth as वैशम्पायन. When he went in quest of चन्द्रापीड he fell in the hands of a चाण्डालकन्या (who was Lakṣmī his mother in his birth as पुण्डरीक). She brought the parrot to king Śudraka. On hearing the parrot's tale शुद्रक remembered that he was चन्द्रापीड, and casting away his body entered Candrapīḍa's body, which became alive again. So also the parrot became पुण्डरीक and went to Acchoda and there the happy reunion of पुण्डरीक and महाश्वेता and चन्द्रापीड and कदम्बरी took place.

Bana has followed the कथासरित्सागर narrative very faithfully in the main outline for a major portion, as seen above. But the names of characters in the two versions are different. While in the कथासरित्सागर version the Himalayan regions and Vidyadharas figure, बाण refers to more southern regions at many stages and the नववर्ष and अप्सरस figure in his narrative. Further Bana expands and duplicates thus for example he has added the characters of शुक्रनास and वैशम्पायन, he has two किन्नर instead of one he describes the childhood of चन्द्रापीड which his source does not. Bana's descriptions and elaboration of love theme are all his own. "In the tale, however, after the prince's departure, the princess मकरदिव्या annoys by her grief her parents so deeply, that she is cursed to

become a निषाद maiden, while her father it is who, ashamed of his action, dies and becomes the parrot, who repeats the tale of its experiences and what it heard Pulastya recite, to king Sumanas. At the court of that prince सोमप्रभ is reunited to the निषाद maiden, who resumes her true shape, and it is the king who is revealed as रश्मिमान, mind-son of the sage दीधिति, and is united to मनोरथप्रभा, while the parrot is released and reaps the fruit of its austerities" (Keith). Bana's story of Kādambari was summarised in 78 verses and was put in the 24th वेताल story in some Mss of the बहुलक्या-मञ्जरी (vide the परिशिष्ट at the end of that work. Nir Edn)

Critical Remarks on Kādambari —

The tale of Kādambari is strange and unreal for one who has no belief in rebirth or reunion after death. To such a person the story would appear to be fantastic and the atmosphere unreal. But to the Indian mind which believes in the transmigration of soul through various births, reunion after death, divine intervention and grace, curses and counter-curses, and the inter mixture of the human with the supernatural, there is nothing fantastic or impossible in such a tale. To the Indian mind "the story may justly be deemed replete with tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and the sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love" (Keith).¹

While Harṣacarita is a historical Kāvya and as such in it Bāna had to keep his fancy related to fact in such a way that the story should have a fair semblance to the facts of the Harṣa era, the Kādambari is an entirely imaginative work and Bāna could give free scope to his Poetic Muse therein. Bāna's Kādambari fully lives up to his own description of a कथा—“ स्फुरत्कलाकापविलासकोमला करोति राग हृदि कौतुवाधिकम् । रसन शय्या स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याग्निनवा वधूरिव ॥—क।दम्बरी Intro v 8

"The principal sentiment of the work is श्रृङ्गार (love). Bāna's treatment of love is refined and graceful. For a conspicuous instance of the sentiment the reader may be referred to the poet's description of क।दम्बरी when she mounted her terrace in order to

have a look at चन्द्रापीड and generally the whole state of her mind from that moment onwards. Ever since Kādambari gazed at the prince, Bāna has delineated beautifully the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty, which sway a girl's mind when she first falls in love. Bāna has developed the sentiment of वृद्धमर through all the ten stages including that of death, which rarely has been achieved by any poet before or after him. Among the other minor sentiments displayed in the book may be mentioned those of wonder and pathos, instances of which are scattered all over the work, chief among which may be noted the successive lives of the moon and पुण्डरीक and the state of कदम्बरी and महाश्वेता on the death of their lovers". (Kale amended and amplified).

There is no lack of movement. Even though Bāna's descriptions and eloquent effusions halt the narrative now and then, the action still manages to keep a quick tempo as a whole. Bāna's use of contrast is seen in his descriptions of the innocent life of the parrots on the शारमली tree or the peaceful life of Jabali's hermitage on the one hand and the pomp and splendour of the courts of S'ūdraka and Tarāpida on the other. His sense of drama is revealed by the brilliant portraits of king S'ūdraka and the Candālakanyā. His close observation and love of nature are seen in the descriptions of the Himālayas, the lake अशोद, महाश्वेता's abode and the like. As in the Harṣacarita so in the Kādambari, Bāna blends the descriptions of natural scenes with those of urban life. The political insight shown in Harṣacarita is seen again in Kādambari in S'ūkanāsa's advice to Candrāpida, or Kapirūjala's advice to Puṇḍarika both of which are amongst the masterpieces of Bāna's literary art too. In Kādambari, however, we find "a more mature view and a deeper insight into the springs of human action". Kādambari obviously seems to be later than Harṣacarita.

There are some defects of Bāna as a writer, which we have to admit. The style at places is verbose, the construction of the plot of कदम्बरी is very complex with past and present lives interwoven in the narrative, there is lack of proportion at places, descriptions are often overdone e.g. description of Mahāshvēta or of Candālakanyā. "Bāna does not let his reader see the wood

for the trees, in his devotion to the beauties of the evening and morning, on the rising of the moon, or limbs of his heroines, he often loses sight of the plot itself " (Keith).

" The last but not the least of all comes our author's peculiar excellence in adapting even a story of super-human beings to the daily concerns of the universal human nature " (Kale) Apropos the use of supernatural element in Kādambarī by Bāṇa, Dr. Peterson has the following remarks to make. " Bāṇa's greatest merit we have reserved to the last. Separated as we are by a thousand years and one-half the world from this Indian writer, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the superhuman machinery of his tale, the hero who is the moon, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, Kādambarī's home beyond the mountains that gird the world, strike us at first as flaws which no natural force on the author's part can remedy. As we proceed all that falls away, and we find ourselves face to face with a story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and of passionate longing for a union after death, that goes straight from [the heart of one who himself felt the pang, and nursed the hope, to us who are of like frame with him. The machinery is as unreal as that of Virgil's poem. the pathos is Virgilian. *Men'ite mortalia tangunt.* Kādambarī has its place in the world's literature as one more aspiration out of the very heart of genius after that story, which from the beginning of time, mortal ears have yearned to hear, but which mortal lips have never spoken. "

On Bhāṇu's literary ability, which we must assess in passing, there is a difference of opinion. Keith is too hard on him, and in brief his observations are: He is inferior to his father. His hurried treatment of the remainder of the plot was perhaps due to inherent difficulties, but he is deficient in his father's facile imagination. His knowledge of mythology and observation of the flora and fauna of Nature is much less than his father's. He at times becomes too lengthy e. g. in the description of Kādambarī's lovesick condition. He has no master-pieces like S'ukanasa's advice to his credit. Mr. Kane has almost similar complaints about Bhāṇu. He too says that we do not find the bold and

striking fancies of Bāṇa in the *Uttarabhāga*, nor the masterpieces like Sukanāsa's advice, that descriptions by मृत्तें tend to become often tedious and lengthy as in the descriptions of Kādambari's love torments, that references to mythology and to other branches of learning are few and far between in *Uttarabhāga*, that Bhūṣaṇa has attempted to wind up the threads of narrative hurriedly, and that the picturesque nature-descriptions and the genius for making characters live as if, are wanting in Bhūṣaṇa's work. We feel Bhūṣaṇa is being judged too harshly. Why compare his amateur work against the mature production of Bāṇa? Even Bāṇa in his apprentice days had many faults. Bhūṣaṇa, though no compeer to Bāṇa, was not much inferior to him. And this point is conceded practically by Mm. Kāne too for he opines that Bhūṣaṇa deserves great credit for the task of completing वादम्बरी, dutifully undertaken and creditably performed. He also says that Bhūṣaṇa's command over Sanskrit and his use of ornate style and अलङ्कार's is almost similar to his father's.

Kādambari unfortunately was left incomplete by Bāṇabhaṭṭa' due to the cruel hand of death snatching him away, and his son Bhūṣaṇa completed it, not to flaunt his poetic abilities, but as part of filial duty. Many scholars, as said above, have asserted that Bhūṣaṇa is a much inferior literary artist. De and Dasgupta too hold the same opinion. They grudgingly admit that Bhūṣaṇa has considerable command over ornate style and diction, and possesses some literary excellences of his father, but say that he imitates and at time exaggerates some of his father's mannerisms, and adds a few of his own.

The story of वादम्बरी deals with the lives and loves of two heroes, each of whom is re-born twice. The story is narrated in a very complex way with stories boxed in stories. Bāṇa's own narrative ends before the plot is properly developed, and it is Bāṇa's son who ingeniously completes it. How far Bāṇa's son has developed it as per his father's original ideas is not exactly known. Some scholars and critics think that Bāṇa may not have made the narrative as confusingly complex in latter part as his son has done it. They wonder whether Bāṇa intended to make S'udraka and

the parrot to be चन्द्रपीड and वैशम्पायन. In fine, they feel that Bana might have closely followed the Bhātkatha version to the end. But we feel that this is very dubious criticism. Bhūṣaṅga must have probably known his father's plan of developing the story, and we cannot agree with the view of De and Dasgupta that the charges of complexity of plot and deficiency of construction should not be fairly levelled at Bana, but at his son, in whose portion these occur. For we feel that Bhūṣaṅga knew the broad outlines of the plot as planned by his father and tried his best to complete his father's unfinished work as per that plan. He may have been guilty of some faults of plot-complexity or plot construction, but we cannot put the entire responsibility and blame for these on him. We feel so because Bana's son refers to the debt he owes to his father, in writing the उत्तरभाग, in the following words: 'दोजानि गर्भितफलानि विनासभाञ्जि वप्रेव यान्मुचिन्-वर्मबलारुहतानि । उदृष्टन्निमित्ततानि च यानि पोष तान्येव तस्य तनयेन तु सहृतानि ॥' This should clearly indicate that Bhūṣaṅga had the scheme of the Uttarabhāga, inherited from his father, during the latter's life time, and that he completed Kadambari on these lines. This would give the lie to the view of many scholars that Bhūṣaṅga has not been a worthy completer of Bana's plan, and that probably Bana would have done the job much better and much differently. Perhaps Bana would have done it much better, but we do not think he would have done it much differently. It is fair commonsense that the plan of the father for whole work must have been fairly well known to his son, particularly when the son was himself a literary person. We may say that he wound up the threads somewhat hurriedly and this made the details at times somewhat confusing. Some say the denouement as presented by Bhūṣaṅga is flat, but this is only partly true. On the whole he has welded the plot well and kept the element of suspense and surprise right upto the end, where we, with as much surprise as सूत्रक and सूत्रक realise, that they are the heroes of that narrative.

"That the method of embedding tales can be carried to a confusing extent is seen in the arrangement of सामरस्य's कथाचरित्तार, where, often with an insignificant framework, we have A's

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account of B's report of C's recounting of D's relating of what E said, and so forth, until we have the disentangling of the entire intricate progression, or reversion to the main story, which the reader in the meantime probably forgets. The form is not ill suited to a succession of disconnected tales, as in the पञ्चतन्त्र, where they are narrated generally by the characters of the frame-story or of the inset stories. There is further improvement in the दशकुमारचरित, where, their several experiences are narrated, with a semblance of realism, by the princes themselves in the first person and in the वेतालपञ्चविंशति, where all the separate tales are connected to serve one main purpose. In the Kadambari, the old machinery is adapted, with a clever plan, to the conditions of the complex narrative. The device of first hand narration is made an essence of the form for the inset stories explain matters which the main narrator could not himself know and which each subsequent narrator is allowed to describe as coming within the scope of personal experience. The main narrative here is not recounted by the hero, but in effect by the sage जादवलि, who supposed by his insight to know vividly what he relates and who can describe freely and objectively but each of the minor narratives like that of महाश्वता, gives effective expression to the intimate knowledge and feeling, and is made essential to the development of the plot'. (De & Dasgupta)

Biya's characterisation is also very effective. Besides the main characters of अन्धपीड, वादशरीर, पुष्करिण and मालवता, we find a number of minor characters like तारापीड, शूरान्त, वैशम्पाय, वसिष्ठ, विष्णुवती, पद्मेना etc all infused with life and colour. We now give character sketches of the leading characters in Kadambari.

Kadambari We shall aptly enough begin with the character-sketch of Kadambari (the graceful heroine of the story which Biya has named after her). It is the peculiar method of Biya's narration, which has delayed the entry of this Gandharva princess till a pretty late stage of the narrative, and Mahaveer holds the stage earlier with her noble majesty but once Kadambari comes on the stage, she keeps the attention of the readers by her shy charm. Kadambari has been shown as a beautiful, coy girl, who

is born and grows up in almost idyllic happiness. The first encounter with harsh realities of life comes when her dear friend Mahāśvetā has a poignant task of waiting for the revival of her dead lover; and a sincere friend that Kadambari is, she refuses to marry till महाश्वेता regains her happiness. Kadambari had great love and regard for her parents and her noble family. When she meets Candrapida who happened to come to visit her place with Mahāśvetā, she is deeply drawn towards him as he is towards her; and they fall in love at first sight. But then this modest shy girl, like Bhavabhūti's Malati, is torn between love and family considerations. But when she finds herself in an identical situation with Mahāśvetā on Candrapida's death she wants to die, only to be halted by divine hand and asked to wait for the day of re-union with her revived lord. And then in spite of all persuasions of her parents to go back home, she prefers to stay in penance at Acchoda and faces the test of life with stern resoluteness. The delicate girl suddenly becomes a resolute beloved defying 'death' to recover her Lord. The personality of bouyant, sweettempered and sweetly eloquent bashful Kadambari is an excellent foil to the noble, ascetic and majestic Mahāśvetā, no less sweet in form, word and deed. The following appreciative remarks of Dr. Peterson about Kadambari aptly reveal her real status in the story. "On his representation of Kadambari in particular Bāṇa has spent all his wealth of observation, fullness of imagery, keenness of sympathy. From the moment when for the first time her eye falls and rests on

Acchoda lake Receiving Candrapida with great courtesy and hospitality and forming a friendship with that noble prince, she unfolds her tale of woe and hope to his sympathetic ears We learn therefrom how this young fruit-looking girl has a steellike firmness in her devotion to her lord and to love though fate plays many a cruel prank against her Once she falls in love, she displays a single-hearted devotion and grit An affectionate friend both to कदम्बरी and चन्द्रपीड, she tries her best to make them come together in a happy wedlock Fair in form, she is equally fair in disposition and character and reminds one of Parvati, practising penance for attaining Lord Siva as her Lord, She tries her best to wean away Kadambari from the latter's decision not to marry till महाश्वेता was happy, and introduces Candrapida to her with the obvious expectation that she would be drawn towards him and he towards her She is mortified to see that वैशम्पायन whom she cursed to be a parrot was मुण्डरीक himself Her sincere love, like that of Kadambari, wins in the end.

Candrapida An incarnation of Moon, Prince चन्द्रपीड was a highly gifted prince He was beautiful in person, sharp in intellect and heroic by nature He was brought up with great care by his father and was educated in a very thorough going way In due course he became the युवराज and also a universal conqueror With all these shining qualities, he shone still more by his great devotion to parents, great respect to elders like शुक्नास and मनोरमा and exemplary modesty and humility He was also a very affectionate friend and वैशम्पायन and महाश्वेता had the great privilege specially to enjoy that friendship in full bounty He was a very considerate master whether to the debonair maid-in-waiting Patralekha or the famous steed Indrajudha He was a sincere lover and Kadambari was his heart's all in all When he returned from हेमकूट [after meeting Kadambari, his mind was torn between उज्जयिनी and हेमकूट When he came in search of वैशम्पायन, back to the Acchoda bank, and found वैशम्पायन turned into a parrot, he died of heartbreak True to his जगत्तरसदगनि or जननान्तरसीद्ध, he even as Sudraka, kept old ties, for Sudraka with all his kingly qualities and accomplishments was verse to love-matters We find

चन्द्रपीड a good conversationalist and an eloquent pleader of a cause. Altogether a worthy life partner for Kādambarī.

पुण्डरीक-वैशम्पायन-शुभ-— Puṇḍarīka, the lover of Mahāśvetā was the son of Śvetaketu and Lakṣmī. He was an embodiment of beauty and intelligence. Born of स्त्रीवीर्य alone he had in his very make-up a weakness of nature that would be overwhelmed by passion. He, once afflicted by love for Mahāśvetā could not control his mind by his own will power, nor by the admonitions or persuasions of Kapījāla. He cursed the Moon in desperation and brought upon himself two births viz वैशम्पायन and शुभ before he could be reunited with Mahāśvetā. In his birth as वैशम्पायन he was a very deeply devoted son to शुक्रनास and मनोरमा and a devoted friend to चन्द्रपीड. He was very intelligent and erudite. But on the banks of Acchoda he came under the influence of प्राक्तनसंस्कारs, which over-whelmed him, and he was inexorably led to make advances to Mahāśvetā and court disaster in the bargain, by getting a curse of becoming a parrot. In that parrot's birth too he passed through different vicissitudes keeping the earlier संस्कारs of learning and finally in Śūdraka's court got redemption from that birth and all then went to Acchoda to come together in a joyous 'coming together' of lovers and friends.

Then we get king Tārāpīda, a great king affectionate husband and loving father. He had the worthy and wise minister शुक्रनास who was a friend, philosopher and guide to him, sharing his weal and woe. Tārāpīda was possessed of great composure of mind, which we see in his consolation of Vīlasavati. But when वैशम्पायन did not return with the army, Tārāpīda severely, and much wrongly admonished Candrāpīda for that event. But when he learnt of his son's death and his would be revival, he went to the banks of Acchoda with his queen and remained there patiently waiting for that day. He treated Kādambarī with a great paternal affection. A typical Indian great king he retired in the end in the typical Indian style, leaving the charge of kingdom in the hands of Candrāpīda. And through all the ups and downs of life he had by his side the devout, beautiful and noble Queen Vīlasavati, to whom all the world seemed to centred in her husband and son, and in her happy

home. Other characters of note are the wise सुकनास devoted Manoramā, the intelligent पद्मलेखा, the very sincere Kapinjala the royal-age Sudraka the winsome Candlakanya the holy sage जादालि and his kind son, young हारीन, so also मरुलेखा, वेयूरक, इन्द्रायुध and many others!

Commentaries on the Kadambari — The only commentary generally available is that of भानुचंद्र (a Jain Pandit) on the पूर्वभाग, and of सिद्धचंद्र (भानुचंद्र's disciple) on the उत्तरभाग. The commentary of these two has been published by Nirṇayasagara press. Both the writers were proteges of Emperor Akbar. The said composite commentary repeats almost every word of the text and is very useful in understanding the text of Kadambari. But it does not meet all the needs of a modern university student. The commentary rarely discusses variant readings, seldom cites parallel passages hardly gives accurate references to works like रामायण महाभारत and पुराण s and often gives farfetched explanations some of which are positively wrong. The important aid of this commentary is in the dissolution of compounds and quotations from *Kośās*.

Dr Peterson's notes bear evidence of three other commentaries on the पूर्वभाग (1) 'चपक' by Sivarama Tripathi (2) A commentary by बालकृष्ण and (3) A commentary by सुखाकर. Another commentary on the पूर्वभाग in the विपमपदविवृति of बंशनाथ. Two more commentators on the Kadambari are महादेव and सुरचंद्र (both mentioned by Aufrecht). Mm Kane could not get any of these commentaries except the commentary of भानुचंद्र and सिद्धचंद्र.

Mm. Kane was supplied by Mm Ganapatisastrin with transcripts in देवनागरी script of two commentaries on the Kadambari, written in old Malayali characters on palm-leaves. The first of it called आमोद is in verse. The author is a Brahmana named अष्टमूर्ति, whose father was Narayana. He chose verse for memorableness. अष्टमूर्ति was an inhabitant of Malabar (Kerala) and belonged to Bhrgugotra. It is quite a learned commentary and the author seems to be well read. But the commentary is not exhaustive. At places it is very meagre. The commentary is fuller

at the beginning. But the उत्तरभाग of कादम्बरी, which occupies one of third the whole कादम्बरी gets only $\frac{1}{8}$ extent of the commentary. The commentator often notices readings and quotes the views of various other commentaries by words like 'केनचित्', 'अपर' etc. One commentator seems to be referred by name viz. मत्स्यकेतु. The commentator, mentioning काव्यप्रकाश and क्षेमेन्द्र amongst several writers is later than about 1200 A D, the specific date is not known.

The second commentary (कादम्बरी पदार्थ दर्पण) is by an anonymous writer. This also comments on both पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग. The commentary is generally meagre, and seldom notices variant readings. The writer seems to be a South Indian, probably from Kerala.

Mm Kane has argued, with reasons, that दर्पण seems to be earlier than आमोद and आमोद seems to refer to दर्पण at places without naming it and at places he seems to improve on आमोद's explanations.

On the उत्तरभाग Mm Kane refers to a commentary by अर्जुनपण्डित son of चक्रदास. It is a very learned and critical commentary. The commentator often discusses various readings. At times he refers to the views of other commentators without naming any. It is not known whether he wrote any commentary on the पूर्वभाग.

Kṛṣṇamacāriar mentions three additional names of commentators of Kādambarī viz हरिदास, शिवराम and वनश्याम.

Works connected with or based on Kadambari Story.—
 The story of Kadambari is originally traceable to the बृहत्कथा. It is found in सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्सामञ्जरी (Shri Kṛṣṇamacāriar curiously enough refers to वामनभट्टवाण's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी) and Dandin's अवन्तीसुन्दरीकथा (wherein the story agrees only in the पूर्वभाग portion of कादम्बरी, which is composed by Bana himself). Dhundiraja Vyasayajvan wrote the अभिनवकादम्बरी, while there is an anonymous कल्पितादम्बरी. Epitomes of Kadambari are available in good number. These are (1) यमिनन्द's कादम्बरीकथासार a poem of eight Cantos (2) विष्णुदेव's

(alias त्रिविक्रम) कादम्बरीकयामार, a poem of thirteen Cantos (3) कादम्बरीकयामार by श्यामदक (4) कादम्बरीचम्पू by श्रीकृष्णभिनवशास्त्रिन् (5) कादम्बरीकल्याणम by नरसिंह (6) पद्यकादम्बरी by धर्मेश्वर (7) कादम्बरीकयामार by मणिराम (8) मधुप्लकादम्बरी by काशीनाथ (9) कादम्बरीसंग्रह by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (10) चन्द्रापीडचरित by V. Anantācārya (11) कादम्बरीसार by Apte (12) कादम्बरीकथा by Navare (Epitomes of Harṣacarita are available by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya, Śrinivāsacārya and Mm. V. V. Mirashi).

Some Miscellaneous Points.—(1) "Three verses of Kādambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahman are quoted in a grant of महाराजक कुमारपालदेव (संवत् 1297, I A. XVII 230). But the introductory verses are not found in manuscript D, V, XXI 6315." (Kṛṣṇamācārya).

(2) According to some scholars the introductory verses to Kādambarī are not from Bāṇa's pen, but from his son or some one else. Mm. Kane rightly rejects this view for the following reasons:—(1) If Bāṇa's son would have written these verses he would have mentioned the fact of his authorship thereof as he has done in case of the उत्तरभाग. (2) He hardly would have given such a colourless description of his father as we find in the verse द्विजेन तेन &c. (3) Bāṇa, an orthodox author, was normally expected to have a Maṅgala at the beginning of his Kādambarī as he has done at the beginning of his Harṣacarita. (4) धर्मेश्वर in his works has quoted four verses of the Introduction to Kādambarī, ascribing two of these specifically to Bāṇa ᅇ. "ननु यथा मद्राजस्य 'जयशुभेन्द्रः स बभार दूरक' &c. (in श्रीविष्णुविचारचर्चा) and 'ननु बयजलो' &c. (quoted as बाण's in त्रिविक्रमभरणे)"

CHAPTER VII

BĀNABHATTA AS A LITERARY ARTIST:

‘ वागीश्वर हृत्त भजेऽभिन्दमर्षेश्वर वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।
रसेश्वर स्त्रीमि च कालिदास वाण तु सर्वेश्वरमानवोऽस्मि ॥’

—सोड्डलस्य.

Bāṇa is one of the most brilliant stars in the galaxy of Sanskrit Poets. He is as peerless a master of Sanskrit Prose as Kalidasa is of Sanskrit Verse or Drama. And he is the norm and model for later Sanskrit गद्यकविः. Sanskrit prose is limited in extent, but Bāṇa has made up by his quality for that deficiency. He can well be termed the Prince of Sanskrit Prose writers. It has been said by rhetoricians that Prose is the touchstone of poets (cp. गद्य कवीना निवृत्त वदन्ति—quoted by वामन in his [काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति on I 321), and Bāṇa has no compeer in the field of Sanskrit Prose. His two masterpieces, the हर्षचरित and the कादम्बरी are the outstanding specimens of the two classes of literary prose compositions viz. वाख्यायिका and कथा respectively, and are said to be fine examples of Pāṇinī style (cp. शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते । शीलामट्टारिकावाचि वाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥—कस्यापि, शब्दसंभारपद्धति No 179). In पाञ्चाली style word and sense have to be equally balanced. Ancient and modern critics have bestowed on Bāṇa an un stinted mead of praise (cp. App II for appreciation by ancients and this chapter VII for appreciation by modern critics).

Bāṇa's style is characterised by some as पाञ्चाली (शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते). But personally we feel that वाण alternately uses the गौडी and वैदर्भी styles (वामन, by the way refers to three style viz. वैदर्भी, गौडी, and पाञ्चाली. These originally seem to be provincial peculiarities. विश्वनाथ, author of साहित्य-दण, added लाटी to the list, while Bhojaraja and others added three more to वामन's list viz. आबन्तिका, लाटीया and मागधी. cp. “ वैदर्भी चाप पाञ्चाली गौडी आबन्तिका तथा । लाटीया मागधी चेति षोडश रीतिनिगद्यते ।’ Provincial stylistic tendencies are also referred to by Bāṇa in Harṣa Intro v 7) Bāṇa, in his ornate portions,

prominently displays ओजस (described as समासभूयस्त्वम्) a characteristic of शौही style, and in simpler passages he displays माधुर्यं, प्रसाद and लालित्य of the वैदर्भी style घमदास in his विदग्धमुसमण्डन mentions two characteristics of Bana's style (1) रचिरस्वरवर्णपदत्व (having charming words and letters and sound echoing sense) and (2) रसभाववत्त्व (describing appropriate sentiments and emotions) The author of राघवपाण्डवीय has referred to Bana's proficiency in वक्रोक्ति (an exaggerated or indirect manner of describing things). Ācārya Pāthak observes that in Bana's writings we get three types of prose styles (1) उत्कलिका which abounds in compounds, and which he has used mainly in descriptive passages (2) चूर्णक which contains a few small compounds here and there and which Bana freely uses all over his works and (3) आविष्ट which generally eschews compounds and which Bana uses in highly sentimental and emotional passages and often towards the end of long descriptions

The first thing which strikes us about Bana's literary style is his overfoodness for puns and recondite allusions. He is never satisfied unless he uses, practically at every step, double-meaning words and expressions. When he begins to give long chains of श्लिष्टोपमाs, where there is no other resemblance between the उग्रमान and उपमेय except a श्लिष्ट expression, one almost gets exasperated with him. So also when Bana gives a wealth of mythological, historical, geographical, philosophic, Śāstric or literary allusions, one is bewildered by their brilliance, plenty and variety. He uses all the paths of वक्रोक्ति of sound and sense in the flow of his descriptions, and the modern critic may be almost offended at this intellectual and literary firework but the ancient critic had a great partiality for such fare. We find for example Subandhu boasting of his प्रयक्षरक्षेप and कविराज acknowledging only him and Bana as his equals in that province

Another characteristic feature of his style is the use of long compounds, which at times extend over more than one line, and which along with Bana's propensity for puns make his works so ornate as to scare his general readers and particularly to many European scholars these traits become a puzzle and despair. But

while admitting Bāṇa's ornateness we must not forget that Bāṇa wrote in an age when the Rhetoric norm for prose was 'ओज समासमयद्वयमेतदस्य जीवितम्' (Kavyādarśa I 80) Bāṇa naturally tried to show his ability to wield an ओजस्वती style, but this fact should not blind us to the fact, which Weber and Co do not care to note, that there are numerous literary masterpieces of simple graceful and elegant prose in Bāṇa's works Bāṇa writes in a melifluous Vaidarbhi when particular sentiments or emotions require it He seems to have anticipated आनन्दवर्चन's dictum गद्यवर्धने दीर्घसमासरचना न विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारवृष्णयोराख्याधिक्यामपि योमते। (आनन्दवर्चन obviously is not exhaustive in listing items calling for simplicity) Actually Bāṇa seems to have a double stylistic personality which he uses as per the occasion At times we find Bāṇa wielding a smooth, simple, facile, colloquial style, at times he writes vigorous, majestic, high flown and ornate prose But even in such ornate passages, Bāṇa's poetic art, richness of fancy, and mastery over language are obvious And even his ornate descriptions are interspersed with small words and phrases having their own charm Generally his diction is smooth and forceful and his imagery and fancy varied and rich "As we follow from one poetic fancy to another, we are struck at the flights of his imagination in regions we never dreamt of and we see before us a veritable poet who possesses in the most astounding degree the power of giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name" (Fnn Ganjendragadkar) Only we often have to complain that Bāṇa uses his known gifts of imagination and word painting like a prodigal spendthrift, using them at places without much propriety or proportion, only to display their riotous plenty २८-६५ २८५

Bāṇa uses a very large vocabulary Though in general he uses words of common occurrence, still he also uses rare, out of the way or obsolete words now and then (and specially so in the Harṣacarita) and it seems that Bāṇa like Carlyle has been inspired with an ambition of having a separate dictionary composed for him

Another feature of Bāṇa's style is his unwearying fondness for using figures of speech, both of sound and sense He often

• strives for a jingling assonance of sound or alliteration. He seems at places to be specially striving for such sound effects. His prose specially abounds in various arthalamkāras—Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Parīsamkhyā and Virodhābhāsa being of common occurrence. “Indeed Bāṇa at places seems to justify his fondness for उत्प्रेक्षा by telling us that the poet and the lover—he does not include the lunatic as Shakespeare does—are of imagination all compact (vide Kādambarī p. 199 ll. 12-19) and have therefore the privilege of bodying forth the forms of unknown things. It is only in these उत्प्रेक्षा’s that his imaginative power is seen at its best. His eye, in a fine frenzy rolling, moves from heaven to earth and it appears as if there is nothing under the sun that he will not imagine” (G). Among other figures of speech used by him are निदर्शना, सहोक्ति, व्यतिरेक, विषम, व्याघात. He is very rich in Subhāṣitas, which have adorned Sanskrit literature ever since (Vide Appendix A (Part I) for his use of a wide variety of Alankāras and Appendix A (Part II) for his Subhāṣitas).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa also had a sense of humour, though he is no specialist in the field. We find him particularly humorous in the description of the जर्द द्रविड धार्मिक. That old monk sung songs during day time with nods of his head and with his voice resembling the humming of moths (दिवसमेव मशकवर्णितातुकारि किमपि कल्पितोत्तमाद्ग गायता). He had to practise a forced celibacy and hence tried to woo old nuns (cp. गृहीतदुरग्नहाचर्यंतयान्यदेशगतोपितासु जर्दप्रव्रजितासु बहुकृत्व संप्रवृत्तवशीकरणचूर्णेन). Thus we find that in this entire description Bāṇa has blended humour with realistic description. In हर्षचरित he has remarked how स्कन्दगुप्त had ‘ a nose as long as his sovereign’s pedigree ’ (नृपवशादीर्घं नासावश दधान).

One undisputed merit of Bāṇabhaṭṭa is his skill in the art of plot-construction. We find this evidenced well in his Kādambarī, where a very complex plot is arranged very ingéneously and consistently, with a master-hand. The whole story is developed in an atmosphere of deep mystery and suspense, and the curiosity of the reader is kept up right to the end, when one is suprised to realise, all of a sudden, that king Sūdraka and the parrot, introduced to us at the very outset, are the two heroes of the romance in their second and third lives ! The heroine Kādambarī, who

gives the name to the romance comes on the scene only at about the middle of the story, and then we find that the earlier account of Mahasveta's love is just a back ground for developing the story of Kadambari's love. The atmosphere of the story also shifts and contrasts. We start in the august royal presence of king Sudraka, to whom a strikingly beautiful Malatanga girl presents a gem of a parrot, and then by a flashback we go the quiet world of parrots and birds on the Salmali tree in the thick Vindhya forest, suddenly ruffled for a while by a Sahara army, we go to the peaceful hermitage of the patriarch Jabali and therefrom once more in Tarapida's royal capital & court in Ujjayini, and soon scale the Himalayan heights, to the regions of Gandharvas and Apsarasas. Thus we are kept moving right up to the end. The double story of Kadambari, and Mahasveta, is interlinked and interlaced in a masterly and ingenious way and by itself is a sufficient indication of the poet's superior art of plot construction.

Bana, unlike Subandhu, shows his expert knowledge of grammar in many points e.g. he adheres to the use of perfect only in reference to matters not within the experience of the particular speaker. His long compounds are generally clearly built and often interspersed with shorter words in order to achieve 'ojas'. Bana has considerably influenced later writers like Dharmadas, Govardhan and Jyotsna by his sound effects and brilliant use of figures of speech.

Bana's descriptive power is really as marvellous as it is varied. While he can give pompous and ornate descriptions of the Vindhya forest or Tarapida's royal household as described at Candrapida's return from his college, or Candrika temple with old Dravida monk therein (in Kadambari) or of Dadhica or Harsa or Darpas'ata (in the Harśacarita) he can write literary masterpieces like Sukanasa's advice to Candrapida, Candrapida's consolation of Mahasveta or Brahman's address to Durvasas. We now just enumerate at random some beautiful descriptive passages from Bana's works, noted for their varied appeal.—We find a beautiful description of Malati as a veritable flower-boquet in Harśacarita (cp. “कुवलय अनुगम्यमाना” —ह p 52). In that work we find the very touching and life-like speech of प्रभाकरवर्धन discussing

with his Queen the marriage of राजश्री We have a striking picture of Bhaṅgin returning with the news of Rajyavardhana's death ("मलिनवासा विशतिव हर्ष VII) Elsewhere in Haracarita (p 407) we find a nice description of a Śābara replete with उत्प्रेक्षा and हृषक The lamentations of the friends of राजश्री are touching while दिवाकरमित्र's advice to राजश्री is very eloquent yet simple, and one in Bhaṅga's best vein Kadambari presents instances galore of Bhaṅga's descriptive art e g the condemnation of the forester's life p 327 is simple and colloquial in wording but very eloquent all the same The mental reflections of the young parrot after his father's death are intensely poignant Tarapida's consolation of childless Viasavati is dignified though having an undercurrent of mental anguish bravely suppressed The psychology of a childless man and his longings are very feelingly depicted in Tarapida's speech The speech is a grand स्वभावोक्ति at length Śrīkanasa's advice to Candrapida is a masterpiece of sage advice and graceful and dignified style The self reproach by Candrapida for the किन्नरमिथुनानुसरण is a charmingly worded excellent passage, and the description of the feelings evoked in Candrapida's mind by the sight of the Aechoda lake is known for its majestic beauty (cp K. d pp 124-25 para 9) Candrapida's address to Mahāśveta eloquently illustrates the inherent graces of the Sanskrit language, courteous and courtly Kapiśjala's admonition of Puṇḍarika displays yet another facet of Bhaṅga's sheer command over colloquial Sanskrit which scintillates in admonition The description of forest (on p 223) is very life like And in these different descriptive passages, Bhaṅga generally shows a sense of propriety by making the style suit the particular subject in hand Thus while he wields an ornate pen in describing the country of Śrīkaṭha or the city of Ujjayini or Emperor Harṣa or Sage Jabali, or marriage festivities in Prabhākarvardhana's palace or the dense forests in the Vindhya, he has written in direct and forcible Sanskrit, in simple and elegant diction when occasion needs e. g Kapiśjala's advice to Puṇḍarika, the laments of Rajyaśri's maids or the speech of dying Prabhākarvardhana "In its own way there is a model of force in the picture of the exclamations of the motley host of the royal army and the cries of the despairing

villagers who are being plundered right and left." Bāṇa wields epigrammatic brevity, when he wishes to convey weighty truths or striking thoughts in simple words cp प्रभाकरवर्धन's address to his daring son Harṣa (Harṣa Uc V) or S'ukanāsa's advice to Candrapīḍa, amongst other passages. At times, however, Bāṇa carries his partiality for such epigrams also to a length where he himself almost becomes weary. The descriptions of king Sūdraka, his doorkeeper or Caṇḍalākanyā exhibit Bāṇa's normal prose style. Rhythmical effects and alliterations abound in his descriptions and are often happy cp "सप्तम्यार्यैस्त्वैव पादपातुन्ममैव, यदि परिगणितं रेख वामरैः सकलनापनापलङ्कलिननरतिचरणरणायमाननिगडा निर्गोटा गा न करोमि त्वत्तनूनराति पीनमपिपि पतद्ग इव पानकी पातयाम्यात्मानम् ।" (ह p 335) or "अप्रतिहृतरपरहसा रघुणा लघुनैव कालेनाकारि ककुभा प्रसादनम् । शरासनद्वितीयः करदीचकार चक कमागतभुजबलाभिजनवनमदावलिप्ताना भूमजा पाण्डु ।" (ह p 371) Here is Kṛṣṇanamācāriar's compliment to Bāṇa's diction and descriptions: "His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet—charming, and—his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of सरस्वती and दधीच, the last embrace of प्रभाकरवर्धन of his son, these for instance in ह्यं चरित, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of S'ukanāsa to Candrapīḍa, the progress of the amours of Kādambari and Candrapīḍa in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant associations of the lovers after vicissitudes, —these for instance in Kādambari, are worthy of a special appreciation." Bāṇa depicts with the same minuteness and gusto the fair Mahāyvetā as he does the dark Caṇḍalākanyā.

Bhūsaṇa also has given us several descriptions which show how he had inherited considerable literary abilities of his father. He has graphically described Candrapīḍa's dismay at Vaiṣampāyana's non-return with the army (pp 273-4) and his wonder as to why Vaiṣampāyana should prefer to stay at Acchoda (p 280). A graphic description of morning (p. 284), the condemnation of वैशम्पायन by शकनास (pp 286-9), the shrewd speech of astrologers (p 294), Vilāsavati bidding adieu to Candrapīḍa starting for the recovery of वैशम्पायन (pp 295-6), Kādambari's poignant speech of taking leave of Madalekha (pp 315-6), Tarapīḍa's consolation of

Vilāsavati (pp 334-5) are some of the other striking passages in Bhūṣaṅga's work. Sukanāsa's address (pp 331-8) shows Bhūṣaṅga to be a chip of that old block. His varied knowledge is seen herein.

Baṇa shows great skill and discrimination in characterisation. His characters in Harṣacarita and Kādambarī are lifelike and well drawn. The affectionate father प्रभाकरवदन, the moody and saintly राज्यवधन, the serene and heroic हृय, the ill-fated charming राज्यधी, the gentle and youthful हरीन, the generous and loving ताराशील, the wise and loyal सुकनास, the tender and devoted विगम्बती, the intelligent and devoted पत्रज्ञ, the affectionate yet stern Kapiṅjala, the holy and fair महादेवा, who serves as a foil to the coy, yet vicious वादम्बरी, are some of the immortal characters that he presents in his two महाकाव्य. All these impress the reader greatly. Baṇa of course, has lavished his skill in full bounty in describing the hero and heroine of the Kādambarī. And like Kālidāsa or Shakespeare Baṇa too depicts the heroines more strikingly than his heroes. In Harṣacarita Baṇa was dealing with a historical personality as his hero (there is no heroine therein) and he has presented his hero with a fair historical veracity, and has not given more overtones than historical Kāvya can reasonably have. Baṇa's characters are not always clearly individualised they often appear as broad types. But Baṇa has shown generally deep insight into the working of human mind. He excels specially in characterising his heroine and the characters of Kādambarī and Mahasveta are finely individualised. The maidenly love of Kādambarī torn between new-born longing and filial duty, being set off by the pathetic fidelity of the love-lorn Mahasveta, awaiting her lover for long years on the shores of the Acchoda lake.

‘ Although most of the characters of the Kādambarī are shadowy and some of them are in their second or even third birth, the poet's genius is so superb and his power of developing love and pathos is so great that the reader soon forgets the unreal character of the work and his mind is enthralled by the engrossing interest of the woes and happiness of his characters’ (Kane)

"We find ourselves face to face with the story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and the passionate longing for a union after death, that goes straight from the heart of one who had himself felt the pang and nursed the hope to us who are of like frame with him" (Peterson)

Bāṇa delineates various sentiments with great ability. The love between मद्रावना and दुर्डीक or बादम्वरी and मन्नाडि is described with great psychological insight and deft touches. While the description of Prabhakaravardhana's death or Yagomati's self immolation or the tragic condition of Mahasveta or Kadambari with their lovers dead for the time, are described with a touching pathos. Bāṇa specially excels in depicting चित्रलम्पसङ्कार and दम्प

Bāṇa's treatment of love is done in a very chaste style, free from grossness. Unlike Daṅakumaracarita, which many times degenerates in vulgarity, Bāṇa presents various aspects and stages of love with great precision, sympathy, understanding and unimpeachable good taste. To him love is a lasting reality which binds souls together in a succession of births too. And that love is an intense emotion which unfolds itself at the proper time under proper circumstances (cp 'कालो हि गुणस्य तु निवारणमप्यस्ति शक्यम्

though he does follow many a routine poetic conceit or convention in his references to trees and flowers birds and beasts still on the whole he shows himself to be a great lover, close observer and deft describer of Nature. He has described the flora and fauna of India with great charm, though sometimes his descriptions are overdrawn fanciful and verbose. "Both in his descriptions of natural objects and his poetic imagination, Bana's words breathe a freshness and vigour that bespeak of a warm and sincere admiration for the grandeur of nature which the Indian scenery offers to a poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets." (Kale)

Bana was a close observer of man and nature, of courts and kings, of hermitages and forests—actually of the varied vista of life. His descriptions of court and citylife or of hermitages and village-life present a picture of times in which he lived. The advice of Śukanasa is a masterpiece, universal in import. The description of the old Dravidian ascetic, though somewhat long drawn and tedious, shows that he had an eye for the ridiculous and the bizarre. The Harṣacarita is of great interest to the antiquarian for the fact that it affords a vivid picture of Indian society in the 7th century and of the manners and customs of those far off days. Bana also shows in all his work a very sturdy commonsense, and a vigorous eloquence. So also we always find in his works the rich dividends of the wide experience of life he gained in his early travels and then residence at royal court which gave him a close knowledge of men and matters.

Weber as back as in 1853 has, in a well known, oft-quoted, but somewhat one sided tirade censured Bana's ornateness in the following words. "Kādambarī compares most unfavourably with the Daśakumaracarita by a subtlety and tautology which are almost repugnant, by an outrageous overloading of single words with epithet. The narrative proceeds in a strain of bombastic nonsense, amidst which, it, and if not it then the patience of the reader, threatens to perish altogether a mannerism already apparent in the Daśakumaracarita is here carried to excess the verb is kept back to the second, third, fourth, nay once to the sixth

page, and all the interval is filled with epithets and epithets to these epithets moreover these epithets frequently consist of compounds extending over more than one line, in short Bana's prose is an Indian wood, where all progress is rendered impossible by the undergrowth until the traveller cuts out a path for himself and where, even then, he has to reckon with malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words that affright him' (from Weber's review of Kadambari contributed to the magazine of German Oriental Society in 1853, quoted by Dr Peterson in his Introduction to Kadambari p 37) Macdonell also shows great impatience with Bana's ornate descriptions cp A History of Sanskrit Literature by A A Macdonell pp 332-4 " Thus in twentyfive pages .. and so forth " . Keith has the following remarks to make on Weber's criticism The censure is just, Bana revels in the construction of sentences consisting of heaped up epithets in compound form, throwing away all the advantages of an inflected language, moreover he loves to pile up in these compounds double meanings, and these he brings about repeatedly by the use of rare senses of ordinary words or the use of utterly abnormal phraseology " But before condemning Bana in the Weberian style, we must remember that an author is to a considerable extent a product of his time Bana lived at a time when the presence of long compounds was considered the very life of prose (ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम्) The Sanskrit Prose Romance had for its sine qua non " a richness of imagery, wealth of description, frequency of rhetorical ornaments, length of compounds and elaboration of sentences, a grandiose pitch of sound and sense " (De & Dasgupta) An author was also expected to display his erudition by profuse allusions to mythology, legend, history, geography, literature and the like, some of which allusions would be most recondite too इत्येव was expected to be an important hand-maid to वक्त्रावित्तुषं वाच्य, अमयवाच्य was also expected to be cp. Dandin's वाच्यार्थ II 363 (इत्येव मर्दान्तु पुण्यानि प्रायो वक्त्रोक्तिमय प्रियम् । मित्र द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्त्रावित्तुषेति वाच्यमयम् ॥) The Scholar in a writer got the better of the poet in him, and so we find in such authors a craze of epithets, epithets of epithets, synonymous phrases in different wording, vakroktis and alamkaras of various

types,—all often spun out to such an extent that the author seemed to halt ultimately in sheer exhaustion. And when an author adopts such a style he courts displeasure of the average reader and gets drastic strictures as Bāṇa got from Weber and Co., though ancient critics whose opinion has much pertinency as contemporary verdict, have paid rich encomia to him.

Weber's charge seems justified with reference to those passages where Bāṇa is over-ornate. But there is the other facet of Bāṇa's style where he is charmingly simple. And even in the so-called difficult passages one with a good knowledge of Sanskrit and an acquaintance with Bāṇa's conventional ideas, can have a fairly easy journey through the 'wood', with a scratch here and there at the most! And Weber has totally ignored those passages where Bāṇa is a model of best Sanskrit prose e.g. description of Acchoda, Kapiljala's admonition to Puṇḍarika, Candrapīḍa's consolation of Mahasveta or his argument against अनुमरण and the like. Rightly does Ptin Karmarkar observe "There (in such passages) you find the four characteristics of a good prose style, — regularity, uniformity, precision and balance, properly illustrated. The small clauses are nicely balanced even the number of words in them properly regulated, the use of past participles, doing away with the verb altogether, the shifting of the position of the verb, sometimes at the beginning sometimes in the middle and sometimes at the end, the use of simple figures of speech in apt manner, like सहोक्ति, विरोध, अन्तिमान, निदर्शना, मालोपमा, रसनोपमा, — these are some of the characteristic of Bāṇa's style. He is, of course, the supreme master of श्लेष and पारिसह्य and in spite of all his love for exaggeration and out of way allusions, Bāṇa displays ample poetic genius capable of attracting a sympathetic student of Sanskrit literature.

A very prominent flaw in Bāṇa's style is that his works abound in too many puns on words, many times intricate, and there are many recondite allusions. These features, used with god's plenty, often smother the original narrative and make his work somewhat दुर्बल at places. From the modern angle these features constitute a blemish of style, but in Bāṇa's time these

literary by-ways were called 'वक्रोक्ति', and were said to be decorations of poetry Does not सुवन्तु, for example, boast of his प्रत्यक्षरक्षेप ?

Another drawback is the tendency to box stories into stories, giving rise to a great complexity of structure to the story, which the reader often finds difficulty to remember coherently Curious turns of events, and curses and countercurses make the story often very complex, and ornate and spun out descriptions make the progress of the story very halting Even this is a fault which Bana shares with many Indian authors "The fact that the greater part of the story is put in the mouth of a parrot is a serious drawback to the verisimilitude of the work", says Mrs Kane. We wonder how far !

But the greatest handicap to Bana's constructive art is his weakness for elaborating the tales, by dwelling on too much details, 'in a style which draws prose and poetry together in an unnatural alliance' The sense of proportion is the very foundation of style and treatment, and Bana has too prodigal an imagination and too much proneness to descriptions to achieve the proper proportion in his work e.g. the too lavish and fanciful descriptions of Ujjayini, Vindhya, Jabali's hermitage, the temple of Candikā, the night the morning Mahasveta's beauty etc, which give 'wonderful word pictures no doubt, but most of them certainly overdone' "Bana's power of observation and picturesque description, his love for nature, his eye for colour and ear for music, the richness of his fancy and his wealth of words, are excellences which are unquestioned, but they are seldom kept within moderate bounds His choice of subject may be good, but his choice of scale is fatal The readiness of his resources is truly astonishing, but the exaggeration often swamps the reality of his pictures' Sometimes there are absurdities in matters of detail. The young physician रसायन committing suicide on the eve of प्रनावरक्षेप's death seems to be too fanatically sentimental !

Bana can be forcible and direct when he chooses But pretty often he is tempted to be verbose and then "Bana allows no topic

to pass until he can squeeze no more out of it. Whether in description or in speeches of lamentations and exhortations - no possible detail is missed - no existing variety of synonymous epithets omitted, no romantic symbolism and conceit overlooked, nor any brilliant rhetoric device ignored. Herein he reminds one of Bhavabhūti who also often describes at length what a Kālidāsa may compress in a few words or lines.

One wonders at Bāṇa's literary gifts and still cannot but feel that the Master commits mistakes of excesses in verbosity, abtruseness and descriptive element. 'It seems strange that one should be capable of denying the splendour of Bāṇa's prose at its best, it is eccentric, excessive and even wasteful, but its organ voice is majestic in movement and magnificent in volume and melody' (D D). Bāṇa's prose is too highflown at many places and his wonderful spell of language and picturesque imagery often smothers the main story or sentiments. But it has made Bāṇa famous for the very extravagant charm of his diction and imagery. Bāṇa has combined in him a rich ornateness of style and rich sensitiveness to tender human emotions. Bāṇa is known for an amazing command over words - a beautiful phraseology, rich in imagery and word-music, an extravagance of expressions and ideas often piled up in a single para or even sentence and here and there a beautiful piece of simple yet artistic finish. "Bāṇa's work impresses us by its unfailing and unrestrained wealth of power - we have here not an abundance but a riot, a love of all that is grand and glorious in fact or fiction."

Bāṇa has often the habit of repeating himself. Whether in description or narration or conversation Bāṇa would not be satisfied unless he expresses a particular idea with every existing variety of synonyms. Though such passages are an eloquent testimony to the poet's richness of resources and ready wit, they often tire us by their profusion and become a defect.

In longer descriptions especially Bāṇa often displays a lack of sense of proportion. Bāṇa tries to load his descriptions with all sorts of factual details and poetic devices and the reader's patience threatens to perish with what Weber calls an outrageous over-

loading of single words with epithets and epithets to these epithets. So also at times some passages seem to be spun out to an improbable length in a particular situation e. g. Prabhakarvardhana's death-bed advice to his son or Skandagupta's advice to young king Harsha on the evils of too confiding a nature at that critical moment, are inordinately lengthened out and appear improbable and unrealistic. So also in his descriptions of Mahasveta and the temple of Caṇḍikā he tires the reader by dwelling too much on every detail. Often the poet seems to be interested in grand descriptions of morning or evening or of some person or place, leaving the plot to take care of itself.

Another flaw of Bana's writing is the unreality of atmosphere at places. Because Bana's extravagance of style has affected his delineation of characters and sentiments which lack reality occasionally. But in spite of the element of marvel and magic, which was a recognised concomitant of a popular romantic tale, Bana still displays considerable power of characterisation and delineation of sentiments. The scene in Kadambari shifts between the world of fancy in the Gandarvaland beyond Himalayas and the world of humanity in Ujjayini, where king Tarapita and his wise minister Śukanāsa, hold court in royal splendour. "The world of fancy is conceived as vividly as the world of humanity, but the whole unreal machinery fades away when we are brought face to face with a tale of human love and sorrow, set forth in its idyllic charm as well as its depth of pathos." (DD)

A Metrical Note — "The number of verses used by Bana is small, though less limited than in the case of सुवन्दु. Bana does not observe the rules laid down by नामह that the बाल्याशिका should contain at the beginning of each उच्छ्वासे, वक्त्र and वर वक्त्र verses, announcing the subject of the chapter. The first Uchchvāsa of the Harṣacanta has an introduction on poetry; the other have two verses, but the form is either two श्लोक or a श्लोक and an वार्ता. In the body of the chapters we have २३ वरवक्त्र in ii, १११ three stanzas, वक्त्रवार्ता, गदलविकीर्तन and वरवक्त्र in iii, two pairs, श्लोक and वरवक्त्र in iv, a pair of verses, वक्त्र and वरवक्त्र and a detached वार्ता in v, a श्लोक and an वरवक्त्र in vi; a d and an

आर्या in vi the last two have no inserted verses. The वचन of बाण is not the श्लोक as in metrical textbooks, but a sort of श्लोक with a spondee at the close of even lines. The Kadambari after its verse prelude in वक्षस्य metre is essentially in prose. (Keith slightly adapted)

Bāṇa's literary views —Bāṇa had some specific views about literature and poets and he has presented them at places in the introductory verses to his Harṣacarita and Kadambari and also in some occasional references in these works. Bāṇa has laid a fundamental norm about really great poetry viz that it should be creative. Only a poet who is 'उत्पादक', who has something new to say is a great poet, the innumerable poetasters (जातिभाज) who produce trite poetry with too commonplace स्वभावोक्ति are poets only in name, not in fact. Unless the poet has something novel or original to say and unless he presents it in a poetic way, he has no claim to कवित्व. Obviously Bāṇa wants that poetry should have वक्रोक्ति as a soul of poetic style. Bāṇa does not vote against स्वभावोक्ति per se, he would admit स्वभावोक्ति which conveys things with striking charm (अग्राम्या जाति) i. e. Bāṇa admits स्वभावोक्ति as one of the अलङ्कारः.

Bāṇa has noted the regional peculiarities of poetry in his days cp श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येषु अर्थमात्रकम् । उ प्रेक्षा दक्षिणात्येषु गौडैश्वर्य रङ्गम्वरम् ॥ (हर्ष Int V 7) But Bāṇa wanted a समन्वय of all necessary elements of poetry to make the really best poetry. Acc to him the following constitute the essentials of poetry, which as he also observes, are rarely to be found together. नयोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽविलम्बित स्फुटो रस । विकटाशरत्नाश्च वृत्तनेकेभ्यः दुष्करम् ॥—ह Intro V 8 Bāṇa has tried to live up to this norm in his own compositions.

Being a prose writer, he has some specific views on the requirements of the good prose style. Thus he has remarked in Kadambari (p 90) that 'उत्कृष्टकविषय (इत) विविधवर्णधेनिप्रतिपाद्यमानतभिन्नचार्यसञ्चयम् (राजकुलम्)'. Wherein he emphasizes both the sound and sense aspects. In Kadambari (Intro vv 7-9) also he has given his idea about a कथा । cp मध्यापिनः च विविधाग्राम्यो गलाक्ष

दुजनस्याकरिपारिवामृतम् । तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जना हरिमहारत्नमिवाति
निर्मलम् ॥ स्फुरत्कलालापविलासकोमला कराति राग हाद कौतुकाधिकम् ।
रताग शय्या स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याभिनवा ववूरिव ॥ हरन्ति क नोऽवल-
दीपकोपमनेवं पदारथैरपवादिता कथा । निरन्तरश्लेषघना सुजातयो महासज्ज-
म्भकुटुम्बरिव ॥)

Baṇa has severely condemned the plagiarists in his introductory
verses to Harṣacarita, but he has not criticized anyone by name
But when Baṇa has praised some eminent predecessors of his and
some literary masterpieces known to him, he has named them,
bestowed an unstinted meed of praise to them This shows बाण's
excellent manners.

Baṇabhatta's learning — Baṇa was a very learned person
He personally testifies to this by सम्प्रक पठित साङ्गो वेद । अतानि
यथाशक्ति शास्त्राणि—Harṣa III and his Harṣacanta and Kadambari
are monumental standing evidence thereof We find therein his
varied learning which shows his acquaintance with (1) Śrutis,
Smṛtis and Vedāngas (2) The different darśanas (3) The Rāmāyana,
the Mahābhārata and the Purānas (4) Indian mythology in general
and (5) Several other miscellaneous lore We now present a
fairly detailed evidence thereof —

(1) References to Śrutis, Smṛtis and Vedāngas — (a)
शिष्यद्वयेनेव पदक्रममुत्तरेण—ह p 12 (b) Reference to लघुमपण—ह
p 22 का p 133 (c) व्याकरणमिव प्रथममव्यमोत्तमपुरुषविभक्तिस्थितानेका
देशकारकाख्यातप्रदानक्रियाव्ययप्रपञ्चसुस्थितम्—का p 90 (d) ज्योतिष
मिव गृहभोक्षकलाभागनिपुणम्—का p 91 (e) दीभितवाचमिवाप्राकृतम् ।
—का p 131 (f) अस्मत्पदवृत्तिमिवाह द्वाग—का p 131 (g)
आर्यामिव समुपात्तयतिगणोचितमानाम्—का p 131

(2) References to Darśanas —(a) साख्यमिव वपिलाधिष्ठितम्—
का p 40 (b) साख्यागमेनैव प्रधानपुरुषोपपत्तेन—का p 51 (c) अतस्तावन्-
शिक्षादृष्टासम्—का p 124 (d) भोमासुधैवानुभवभावनानुचिद्वया—का
p 131 (e) Baṇa has referred to प्राणायाम, ब्रह्मासन, योगपट्टिक, समाधि
etc from the योगशस्त्र at various places (f) Reference to दशयान in
“ भास्व मध्यनायकमनेगुक्तानुयाहमपवग मागमिव हारमुद्दहती । ” — ह p 12

(3) References to Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas:—

- (a) दशरथ इष्टरामो-मादेन मृत्युमवाप—हृ. p. 145-6 (b) सागर इव सागर-
प्रमादान्—हृ. p. 196 (c) रामायणमिव विविधभागमाकुलम्—वा. p. 91
(d) The entire para 19 on pp. 21-22 of Kadambari bristles with
Rāmāyaṇa references. (e) राघवगरप्रहारजज्ञैरितिजीर्णतालतरंगणद्वयं च
समीपे—वा. p. 23 (f) अनवरतगरनिरर्वापिरामनिहतगरदूषणबलनिवहमिव
—वा. p. 29 (g) रामानुरागो रामायणेन न योवनेन—वा. p. 41 (h)
Harṣa intro. v. 3 refers to व्यास and his भारत / (i) Harṣa intro. v.
9 refers to भारती कथा (j) दत्तत्रेय पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम्—
Harṣa intro. v. 11 (k) महाभारतभाविनात्मानः—हृ. p. 142 (l)
कस्य न द्वितीयमहाभारते भवेदस्य चरिते कुतुहलम्—हृ. p. 149 (m) विविध-
वीररसवृत्तान्तररामणीयनेन महाभारत लवयन्निव—हृ. p. 326 (n) यत्र च
महाभारते षडुनिवच—वा. p. 41 (o) महाभारतमिवाप्तान्तगोताकर्णानानन्दित-
नरम्—वा. p. 90 (p) अदरिमिनश्चलभरान्नान्ता मन्वे स्मरति महाभारतसमर-
गणोभस्याऽ स्थिति—वा. p. 118 (q) भारतमिव पाण्डुधृतराष्ट्रकुलशतृत्-
धोभम्—वा. p. 113 (r) सर्वमद्वयमहोपनि महाभारते दत्तावधानाम्—का.
p. 209 (s) महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा, —वा. p. 51 (t) हरिवश-
वधेषानेकवाल्मीकिरामगीया—वा. p. 52 (u) वृष्णवाल्मीकिव तटकदम्ब-
शास्त्राधिकृतहरिकृष्णजन्मप्रवातशीडम्—का. p. 123 (v) पुराणे घापुप्रलम्बितम्—
वा. p. 41 (w) पवमानप्रोक्त पुराण पथाठ—हृ. p. 140 (x) पुराणमिव
यथाविभागवस्थापितसकलभुवाकोशम्—वा. p. 90

(4) References to Indian Mythology in general — (a)

- न्यक्त्रनृगणतः स्वामी—हृ. p. 86 (b) नास्य हरेरिव .. शिव—हृ. p. 126
(c) तात घाण .. उन्मृष्टवान्—हृ. pp. 143-7 (d) अत्र बलजिता .. महासमा-
रम्भा.—हृ. pp. 147-9 (e) गुरुर्वचमि... प्रजाकर्मणि—हृ. p. 163 (f)
लोकत्रय .. भरतेन—हृ. p. 307 (g) आत्तन्नवतिना .. स्त्रीराज्यम्—हृ.
pp. 371-2 (h) अग्निशापात् .. परिवृत्तिः—का. p. 13 (i) पुरा चण्डकौशिक
... चतुरः पुत्रान्—का. p. 62 (j) पुरा किल... उवाच—का. p. 80 (k)
दशरथ . प्रतिमा.—का. p. 117 (l) स्मर तावच... जीविताः—का. p. 174
(m) विश्वावसुना . आनीतवान्—वा. p. 175 (n) जानकीव .. एति—वा.
256 { These are just some select passages, Bāṇ's extensive and
deep knowledge of Indian mythology is seen practically on every
page of his work

(5) Miscellaneous references to other lores — (a) Bana's

acquaintance with अलङ्कारशास्त्र would be clear from our discussion about Bana's literary views elsewhere in this chapter (b) वाच्य-

गाढवाच्यायिकालक्ष्यव्याख्यानानि नियानिपुणं — का p 7 (c) reference to

वर्णोद्भूतकथा — का p 19 (d) उदयनमिव अभिनन्तितवत्सुलभ — क p 40

(e) शिक्षनाशेषदशम षण वक्त्राणि निपुणनाख्यायिकाख्यानपरिचयचतुरेण सवलि-

पिनन महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथानुसालन — क p 51 (f)

फलितगवितत्रय नीतिशास्त्रविग्रहद्वि अधीतघमशास्त्र — क p 53 (g)

— Reference to कोस (अस्य घु'स ?) and वीथिनरत्नजातकानि H pp 414-415

(h) Reference to Buddhism and Jainism बौद्धमत जीवानुकम्पिना —

K p 51 (i) Reference to काव्यगारठी परिहासकथा (light talk) विदु-

मती, प्रहलिका नरपतिकृतकाव्यमुभापितानि, द्विपदी and कविण — K p 88

(j) नरवाहनदत्तचरितमिवात्न सर्वघतप्रियदणनराजदारिद्र्याधवन्तीत्वच्छत्र —

K p 91 (k) नागदीपमिवाष्पमनराजदमम — K p 91 (l) कौटिल्यशास्त्रम

— K p 109 (m) बौद्धबुद्धिमिव नितालम्बनात् — K p 131 (n)

लोकायतविषयवाधमरच — K p 140 (o) References to दगास्तान,

कुहवत्तत्रमत्रपरित्वा and महाकालमत, which seem to be some religious

tracts — K pp 226-7 [p] K p 297-8 Tarapita's speech at Candrapida's

departure shows Bhanu's proficiency in जयशास्त्र (g) क p 347 'श्रुती जीवति' shows Bhanu's erudition]

Banabhatta's Religion Banabhatta was a devotee of Siva

as can be seen very clearly from his works. But at the same time

we find that he was no bigot he was rather a person like Kalidasa

who believed in 'Unity in Trinity, (of Brahma Vishnu and Siva),

and yet had a special affinity for Siva as also Parvati. We may

describe him in other words as a Vedantin in principles and

Shivbhakta in practice. We enumerate the references which show

his religious inclinations —

(a) Bana a Siva devotee — (i) व १ 2 from ह्यचरित्त् Intro

verses salute शम्भु and उमा respectively (ii) Savitri advised

Sarasati to propitiate lord Siva when she was cursed by Durva

sas (cp 'शन दारणा पाद्य प्रमति प्रतिपत्स्य मन्मा वाषा नियदा च

द्वदव त्रिभुवनगुरु अम्बवम । अपायनव काव्य स न पापशाल्विगति

विनरिच्छति' इति । p 23) (iii) There is reference to 'मिद्विरचित

चालुक्यलिङ्गस at हृषं. p 30 (iv) Sarasvati, residing on the western bank of S'oga, worships the eight divine forms of lord S'iva by offering अष्टपुष्पिका (cp. पुलिनपृष्ठ... अष्टपुष्पिकामदात् ।)—हृषं p. 30). (v) When Bāṇa received the message from Kṛṣṇa to come to Harṣa's court, he was hesitant for a while; but ultimately decided to go relying on S'iva's favour (cp. सर्वथा भगवान् भवानीपतिर्भुवन-पतिर्गंतस्य मे शरणम् ।—हृषं p. 90). (vi) And while proceeding on that journey he worshipped S'iva (देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य... विधाय परमया भक्त्या पूजाम्—ह p 90) (vii) While describing पुष्पभूति's शिवभक्ति, Bāṇa has praised S'iva in highly eulogistic terms cp यत्तस्तस्य ...पशुपति प्रपन्नोऽन्यदेवतान्यममन्यत त्रैलोक्यम् --ह p. 164 (viii) When हृषं's march is described at the beginning of Uc. VII. Harṣa is described as worshipping S'iva then cp. विरचय्य परमया भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्वार्चाम् ।—ह p 350 (ix) King Bhāskaravarman is described at Harṣa Uc VII (p. 383) where it is said about him: अयमस्य च शैशवादारभ्य सकल्प. स्थेयाम्स्थानुषादारविन्दद्वयादृते नाहमन्य नमस्कुर्वामिति । (x) Harṣa's appreciative remark about Bhāskaravarman's S'ivabhakti shows Harṣa's devotion to S'iva (स्वयं बाहुशाली गयि च समालम्बित-शरासने सुहृदि हरादृते कमन्य नम-यति ।—ह p 385) (xi) In Kadambari introductory verse 2 Bāṇa pays homage to S'iva (xii) King S'ūdraka also worshipped S'iva (cp उपरचितपशुपतिपूजनः—K p 16). (xiii) Mahākāla of Ujjayini is described as भुवनत्रयसर्गस्थितिसहारकारिन् (K. p. 50). (xiv) Mahākāla is described with great reverence in the उज्जयिनीवर्णन (cy. यस्या मुरासुर... स्वयं निवसति— K. p. 53). (xv) Mahāśvetā is described as a great devotee of S'iva cp. अद्राक्षीत्... भगवन्तं त्र्यम्बकम् । (K. p 128) (xvi) When महाश्वेता as a young girl had come for a bath to Acchoda she saluted S'iva images (cp. अत्र च स्नानार्थं... वन्दमाना—K. p 138). (xvii) Mahāśvetā in her distress sought resots with S'iva (देव त्रैलोक्यनाथ... स्थापुमाश्रिता— K. p 172) (xviii) Candrapīḍa, when he visited गन्धर्वलोक, had worshipped S'iva there (cp अत्र कुम्भघृलिसिक्तिले गिरिनदिकातटे भगवन्तं चित्तं श्लेषणि ।—K. p 213) (xix) King तारापीड is called परमसाहेस्वरः (K p 221) (Even Bhṛṣṅga seems to in- here his father's शिवभक्ति, for he salutes गिरिमुलापरमेश्वरो in Kad- Uttarabhaṅga Intro v. 1; and makes Vaḥampāyana also a devotee of S'iva cp. “ प्रणम्य.. भगवन्तं भवानीप्रभु महेश्वरं दत्ताष्टकशकल-शेखरं व्रजाम् ।—K. p 276

(b) Bana's Vedantic bent — (i) In Kadambari intro v I Bana speaks of Unity in Trinity (ii) Jabali's *agrama* is said to be 'अर्च्यमानहरिहरपितामह' (K p 40)

(c) Some miscellaneous references showing Bana's broad religious sympathies (i) There is a reference to 'सुवद्विद्यासिद्धिविघ्न-विनायक' at ह pp 171 2 (ii) The Assam king's वैष्णववत्स is referred to with admiration at ह p 386 (iii) दिवाकरमित्र is described as "परममौगतमपि अवलोकितेदवरम्" (ह p 416) (iv) Bana's high regard for Buddhism is shown by the following passage in Uc VIII "भगवन् ! सर्वमत्त्वानुवृत्तिनी वचयाम ।" (हप pp 428 9) and "मम हि गुरु भारोपसिद्धति ।" (हप p 430) (v) Kadambari intro v 3 pays homage to Visnu (Bhusanabana in Kad Uttara intro v 2 salutes Narayana)

Epilogue — When we read Bana's works and turn over the last page, the impression we carry is of having met a master mind of literary art. His absolute mastery over Sanskrit language, his rich variety of style, his fine delineation of the whole gamut of sentiments ranging from सुहृत्कार, वीर and वरुण to वीभरत्स, अदभुत and शान्त (to mention some at random), and his power of making a character, scene or situation to live as if before our mind leaves us spellbound. We gladly concede that Bana really in a "वक्ष्य-वाणीकविचक्रवर्तिन" Defects no doubt he has—for who is free from them?—but they appear to us to be due to his times rather than an inherent fault in his muse and before the full splendour of the glory of his all-sided genius, they become comparable to the spots on the sun (G). We have often felt that with Kalidasa and Sankara Bana makes the Trimurti of Sanskrit Literature

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIETY IN BĀNABHATTA'S WORKS

‘वाच्य व्यवहारविदे’

—सम्प्रदाय

• **Introductory** —When we try to get a picture of contemporary life from literary works, we cannot expect to get a detailed co-ordinated account of the social facts by the very nature of things. For in literary works the author's main objective is to *unfold his literary art and references to social life are only made incidentally*. We have to piece together such references and details to get a social account. Further in literary works—and specially so in case of Sanskrit literary works—fact is freely mixed with the fictitious, the fanciful and the supernatural. So we have to sift the evidence carefully and choose only that which appears to be historically and factually sound. But if we proceed on these lines with due caution, we do generally get a fair idea of the social background of a work, because after all the life around an author enters in many ways in the life of make-belief which he tries to project in his work. We shall now try to have a pen-picture of the society in which Bāṇa seems to have lived and moved about basing our conclusions on the material furnished by his works.

The people and their professions — The people in general belonged to the Aryan stock. They were fair in complexion had big eyes, rich hair, aquiline noses, broad foreheads and chests and muscular arms and thighs. [cp आयतलोचनम् (का p २०) वायतल्ललाट० (इ p ७४) उन्नतघोषिणम् (का p १९)] The aboriginal tribes like the Bhils and others had a different appearance being possessed of dark eyebrows, redish eyes, flat noses, broad lips and chins, prominent cheek bones and well formed bodies. The lower class of people seemed to be mainly coming from Dravida and Sinhala countries. [cp the description of Tatapila's servants आ प्रद्विडमिहूलप्रमण (सेवकगणेन) — का p 88] and these were generally engaged in menial service.

There were four castes in the society they were based on criterion of birth. The Brahmins had a superior social status and

Brahmin was expected to be revered for his birth whatever his qualifications and abilities [cp अमस्मृत्तमनयोऽपि जन्मैव द्विजमानो गन्तव्यः ।— ह p ११, also cp ह p ११३ where पुष्पमुनि gets off a wicked Naga because he was Brahmin] But it should be noted also that there were several Brahmins like the Vatsyayanas, who were sages of high eminence, religious, dutiful, straightforward and never caring for worldly glory [cp ह pp ३९, ४० or the description of the Vatsyayanas] Bana, while describing his cousins, houses (Uc II Para I) gives a graphic picture of typical houses of the श्रौत्रिय and their surroundings. So also when Bana gives a spirited rejoinder in self-defence to Emperor Harsa who at the first interview, first twitted Bana, gives in the that rejoinder many Brahmanic and scholarly qualifications of his, which deserved a better treatment (cp ब्रह्मगास्मि जज्ञे अभ्यागारि नास्मि । लोवदृष्टा . अत्रवरापोऽस्मि ।—ह II) Further when Bana returns from Harsa's court, he questions his kinsmen about matters that were vital to the Brahmins of his days viz the performance of sacrifices, the incessant study of the Vedas the grammar, logic, the मीमांसा and poetry. The caste system was rigid, and Brahmins did not take food at the house of the other three varnas [cp ह p 63 'वर्णत्रयव्यवृत्तिविगृह्णावत्त'] The diksitas would avoid prakrit speech [cp वा p 131 'दीनिववाचमिवाप्रावृत्ताम्] Brahmin priests were invited at religious and household ceremonies. The performance of animal sacrifices was fairly common. [cp नृद्विहृणमारच्छाशावक्रप्रकटितपशुवधप्रवधानि (भवनानि)— ह pp. 72-73] Marriage rules generally were strictly for marriages in the same community, But अनुलाम marriages seemed to be in vogue. Bana speaks of पारस्य ब्राह्मण as his cousins (uncle's sons, born of Sudra wife and hence पारस्यवः) [cp ह ४१ ' भ्रातरी पारस्यं चद्रसनमासृषेणी] We wonder whether they were cousins of Bana as Mm Kane and others take them to be, or step brothers of Bana. Bana has specifically mentioned his mother राजदेवी to be पारस्यी so perhaps his father had some गूढा wife too !] A प्रतिशोभ marriage, however, with a Brahmana as a party, was held to be sinful [cp ह p ८८ where ययाति is said to have become पारस्य because he married द्युयानी, a ब्राह्मणी] Brahmins who became converts to other faiths were called पारस्यरिः. A Brahmin-

killer had to undergo a very serious expiation [cp ह p २२२
 'ब्रह्मघ्न इव प्रतिदिवसवन्दनोद्घृष्टशिर कपालस्य ।]

Though Royalty was often connected with Kṣatriyahood, it was not an invariable order of the day Emperor Harṣa, according to C V Vaidya and Hiuen Tsang, was a Vaiśya (though others have contested this view) Kṣatriyas were known by their वश or by गोवश Polygamy, which was commonly seen amongst people then, was more so in royalty The favourite game of royalty was hunting and Candrapida and Harṣavardhana are both described as enjoying hunting expeditions

The caste of Vaiśyas was generally a trading caste, though they occasionally distinguished themselves in other fields as well The term सूद्र mainly indicated the aboriginals like the Bhils etc We have reference to Śimhalas, Dravidas etc who were mainly employed in menial jobs The Śūdras were generally busy with agriculture and menial service There were several subcastes also, caused by intercaste marriages

Though चतुर्वर्ण्य was the basis of social structure, the occupations of people were varied and they occasionally were taken to without a particular caste label In a growing social order and advancing civilisation variety of occupations was just a logical outcome [cp the description of a village at हर्ष pp ९४-९७ and description of Baṇa's companions at हर्ष pp ४१-४२ to get an idea about the variety of professions] With that was also generally waning the class-consciousness though the caste system was existing Besides the wide variety of professions, high and low we have Buddhist and Jain monks and nuns, doing the work of of religion We have so called magic and tion of the old द्रविड धार्मिक in कादम्बरी amply shows how he was deceived by various ascetics with nice promises of securing of ample wealth and a charming bride by some magical means "

If seems that there was continuous warfare going on in these days, and this made the social life far from stable and prosperous

on the whole Harsa was engaged in warfare for nearly thirty years Candrapida embarked on दिविजय to establish his suzerainty It seems that royalty delighted in asserting and parading supremacy by power of arms And when a great king would pass away the empire often started to crumble and crash

Brahmins generally lived up by the profession of priesthood and teaching The other communities had their usual professions, and further, as said above, a wide variety of professions had grown The list of Bana's companions in his young journeys shows "what strange medley of people an orthodox Brahmana could associate without running any serious risk of losing caste or position "

Bana refers to Natakas Nata's, [cp ह p 19 reference to शैल्युप] dancers directors of dramas [cp ह p 434 reference to नाटकसूत्रधारी] We cannot say for certain whether well formed dramatic companies were then in vogue It seems that in Bana's days, dancing was popularly represented on the stage and not the plays, which were probably displayed on occasions like Yatras as Bhavabhuti indicates But we should note that Natas were not looked upon with much respect in Bana's days while the catholic Bhavabhuti has no scruples in being on intimate friendly terms with the actors¹ There were यमपटिवs also in Bana's days, who would present on picture screens the happenings in Yama's kingdom

Social Customs and Manners —From occasional references we can get some idea about the code of customs and manners of that age It seems girls had a fair amount of education and a fair measure of freedom of movement as could be seen from the prevalence of Gandharva marriage The reference is Harsa's Nagananda viz 'निर्दोषद्वाना म्लु कयका ' reflects the same fact Friends and well wishers generally served as useful and helpful mediators e g नाविकी to सरस्वती in हयचरित, or कपिञ्जल to महा इवना in क दम्बरी But we also find that sensible girls like सरस्वती, महाइवेना or दादम्बरी took care to see that they choose a good person before falling head over heels in love with him

Hosts were expected to be respectful towards guests, and formalities of speech and reception were meticulously observed e.g. the conversation of सावित्री, सरस्वती, दधीच and विदुषि in the हृषीकेश, or that between चन्द्रापीड and महादेवा, or the address of महादेवा to Chandrapida and the latter's reply thereto. Women were treated with great courtesy. Respect was shown to great and elderly persons e.g. Chandrapida going to see Sukanasa sat on the ground [cp वा p. १८९ "चन्द्रापीड. शिथिल एव" and वा p. १९४ "अपहाय रत्नामन अवनोवेव समुपा०"]

The clothing of men and women seems to be made up of two pieces of cloth. No tailoring seems to have been in vogue. The upper garment (उत्तरीय) was merely kept hanging on the body, while the lower one seems to have been tied with some knot. The garments of men were generally white, those of ladies were generally coloured. Ladies seem to have an अघोषन (दुकूलवत्कल), a bodice with a knot between breasts (रत्नमध्यव-यगात्रिकाग्रन्य) and an उत्तरीय worn across the body (वैकटयक) [cp ह p 34]. Women seem to be using a veil occasionally (e.g. Candalakanyā in the royal court and Rajyagri at the time of her marriage, had veils). Men used to wear turbans or some other type of head-dress. Widows wore white clothes. Buddhist monks red and Jain monks yellow. The hair of men generally hung loose, at times it was tied in some head knot. In case of women, ladies had वणिस and widows एकवेणी. Flowers and sprouts as decorations, as also gold and jewelled ornaments were used by ladies, men occasionally used some ornaments. Women applied अलकाव to their feet. Sandal paste was used both by men and women. Bards, Bhils, etc. had their specialised type of dress.

The family life was very cordial in general. And there are descriptions of many a happy household in Bana's works. A mother had great affection for her children e.g. विन्दासवती's affection for चन्द्रापीड or यशोमती's affection for हर्षवर्धन. But a woman loved her husband more than her child. The husband was the ruler of the household but generally consulted his better half in family-affairs e.g. प्रभाकरवधन consulted यशोमती before राजश्री's marriage. Relations between a husband and wife were generally very cordial,

the influence of evil spirits (5) The birth of a male child was highly welcome that of a daughter was an occasion for sorrow (6) There was the worship of *सृष्टीदेवी* on the sixth day after child-birth. The father could see the new born child after this worship (7) The naming of the child was done on the tenth day [cp *वृ* p 137 'अथाप्ये दानम अर्चति'] (8) A boy was sent to *गुरुगृह* in the sixth year after ceremonials like *बृहदारण्य* had been performed, and returned after ten to twelve years (9) *दास्य* and *मानस्य* forms of marriage were in vogue. The girls were fairly grown up at the time of marriage. (10) The hand of a grown-up girl was asked for by a suitor, and the girl's father would consent if he so liked. He consulted his family members too. (11) The marriage ceremony was performed on an auspicious day at an auspicious moment at the bride's house. Detailed ceremonials were gone through. There was considerable rejoicing & frolic. The consummation of the marriage was on the same day, this would indicate that the brides were fairly grown up. (12) Child marriages were not in vogue, nor widow remarriages. Widows were expected to lead a secluded and religious life and occasionally they committed *सती*. (13) The custom of self immolation or *सती* by ladies was occasionally practised by ladies on the death of their husbands and on rare occasions (as in the case of *यसोमती*) even before the death of the husband. It was supposed to be a glorious thing. Both *Mahasveta* and *Kadambari* wanted to commit *अनुमरण*, but were warded off from that by divine agencies, because of the would be reunion in either case. Even *रसायन* the young and learned physician in waiting on *प्रभाकरवर्धन* preferred death to informing *हृष* of the impending end of his father. Widows who did not commit *Sati* were expected to lead a religious life. The enlightened opinion of the day was of course against the institution of *सती*, as one can see from *ब्रह्मदीड*'s arguments against that system, in his address to *महाश्वेता*. That passage shows that *Bṛha* himself was obviously a great social reformer and he has in that passage put a spirited argument against *अनुमरण* in his *Kadambari*. He seems to be the mouthpiece of a new rationalistic view taking shape in the mind of young elite. (14) The rites to be performed after death were practically the same as obtaining it present. After the

period of impurity, the personal effects of the dead were given in charity; the bones of the dead were taken to a holy place; a cow was given occasionally to a Brahmin as a gift. In case of eminent people, the departed were often commemorated by erecting a monument or building a *gumbaz*, or by the composition of a poetic elegy (*कविहस्तिक*). At one place Bāṇa has described monuments to dead heroes as *जननिहतनरनंकाष्टकोटिवृत्प्रवर्तिनीरपुरपथादस्थान*'s- (15) There were some rites to be performed when a person would embark on an important journey. [cp. ह. pp. ५६-५७; २०२-२०४.]

Some miscellaneous points are: (i) At times of eclipses, people fasted. [cp. ह. p. 29 " *पर्वन्त... उपवासाम्* ".] (ii) At the time of receptions, floral arches were raised. [cp. ह. p. 51 " *वस्यापि पुष्पवनः हृदयप्रवेगमात्रि कानिव रक्षा धारयन्ती ।* "] (iii) On occasions of joy and festivity people, men and women, young and old, mixed freely; and enjoyed song and dance. (iv) The description of the rites performed when *प्रभाकरवर्षन* was on death-bed, though some what wierd, shows us what popular Hindu religious practices and observances were in the 7th Cent. A. D.

Sports and Amusements:— Among social entertainments and sports the more important were *dancing, singing, animal fights and bird-fights*. [cp. K. 89 " *आवद्धमेपपुत्रकृतपुररखपिञ्जल्ललावकवर्तिकामुद्धम्* "] On the fights of animals or birds, there was an occasional resort to betting. The main sport of royalty was hunting. [cp. *Kādambari* pp. ५६-५९; pp. १९९-२००]. Gambling was considered as an art and pastime and there are *profuse references to it*. [cp. K. p. १५६ ' *सर्वामु द्यूतकलामु* ' K. p. १०६ " *द्यूतादिकलाकलास्पाखेष... जनेन* "; K. p. 131 " *द्यूतकलाकुसालामिव वर्शवृतासहृदयाम्* "]. द्यूतस्थान is referred to in *Harṣacarita*. [cp. ह. p. 159]. Kings were expected to be proficient in gambling. [cp. K. p. १८० " *दुरोधरश्रीशामन्वस्यता... सामन्तलोकेन* "] The game of chess was also popular. [cp. for references to *बष्टापद* ह. p. 14, 127. ७८ (*बष्टापदानां चतुरङ्गकल्पना*)]. Mm. Kane thinks that a game ' *caturāṅga* ' is referred to, corresponding to Marathi ' *मोंगट्या* '. Gambling, however, was not respected in society. There were also intellectual pastimes " like reciting stanzas, finding out missing words, supplying lines of stanza

etc" (अक्षरच्युतक मानाच्युतक, विन्दुमती, प्रहेलिवा and the like) [cp का pp १८०-१८१]

City Life and the Country Life.— The typical description of the city of Ujjayini shows broadly how the city-life of Bana's days was. The cities were surrounded by walls and trenches, they had suburbs, parks, rest houses drinking places and halls. The people in general were fairly prosperous, fair in appearance given to various worldly pursuits, cultured and educated [cp K p 51 "शिक्षिताशेषदेशभाषेण सुभाषितव्यसनिता" &c] Bana's हर्षचरित gives a description of Bana's wanderings over the whole of *स्याम्बीश्वर* and beyond. We find therein cross-sections of a varied society, plying various professions and trade.

The village people were more unsophisticated, and more orthodox in religious matters. Agriculture was the main profession, and rice was the main crop. Other crops also were numerous e.g. godhūma (wheat), mudga (kidney bean), Jiraka (cumin seed), Rajamāsa, sugarcane, grapes and the like. Coconuts pomegranates, dates etc were also planted. The land was fertile. 'The device of waterwheel was widely used. Vegetables too were grown in abundance. The cattlewealth consisted of cows and bulls buffalos, rams, horses, mares, camels, etc. There were lakes and water reservoirs here and there. One could also see scarecrows popping up [cp मृगभयकृततृणपुरुषकै—K p 224]. On the whole villages had a sort of smug peaceful life and people were healthy and contented.

The forest life was a harder life. The foresters lived in huts and subsisted by hunting, wild produce and elementary agriculture with spades (and not ploughs) [cp "कुदात्प्रायवृषिभि ह p २२]. Some foresters used to collect honey, various types of fruits, feathers of birds etc and to sell these things in cities or villages nearby. Their clothings was generally fashioned out of bark-garments. Their goddess was Camunda or Candika and they offered 'वक्रि' in her honour [cp Reference to चण्डिकावलि offered by foresters at का p 30]. There are several passages where Bana gives graphic description of forest life [cp हर्ष pp २२७-३०, का]

pp. ३९ & ४२, pp २४१-४५, pp 354-5 pp ४१७-२६.] One curious reference by Bhūṣaṇa Bāṇa is to a वनमानुषी. [cp. K p. 316]

There were many hermitages in forests where hermits led a pious, holy and quiet life [For descriptions of hermitages cp. ह pp ४४-६, का pp ७९-८३] The young boys there were educated in various branches of Vedic lore. Many sages lived the lives of householders in the tranquillity of these hermitages, which they liked for their quietitude and simplicity, and where penances and meditation could be pursued without obstruction. The life in hermitages was generally self sufficient and self dependent, the basic amenities of life like food, water, shelter and clothing were managed with local resources in the तपोवन.

Learning and Literature:—Education was fairly common and widespread. The आश्रमः or गुरुकुलः were the seats of learning, where the young boys went to receive education. Some might have received education at home. Bāṇa seems to have learnt partly at his home, known for erudite traditions, and partly at the feet of Bharvā. Candrapīḍa was educated at a special विद्यामन्दिर built for his sake, where a highly qualified staff was engaged to educate the prince. Candrapīḍa went to the विद्यामन्दिर at the age of six and returned at sixteen. Tarapīḍa obviously benefited in a Gurukula discipline. Otherwise he could have asked the Pandits to train Candrapīḍa at the palace only. The curriculum seems to consist of Vedic lore in various branches and various other arts and sciences current in that age. [K p. 75 para 71 gives a list of the literary and artistic curriculum for education of a prince while the description of the parrot विदित . मित्र on K p 12 represents the expected intellectual attainments of a well-educated person.] There must have existed Gurukula type of Universities like Nalanda and Takṣaṣṭīa, as references by Bāṇa seem to indicate. [cp. References to गुरुकुलः at ह p. 69 & p 159]

Learning in ordinary villages and small towns was probably connected with श्रुतिस and स्मृतिस and ritual they enjoined. यज्ञविद्या, व्याकरण, नर्क, मीमांसा etc were also studied at these places, which

also must have boasted of some learned scholars in these branches. But there were also persons interested in subjects of a secular character and connected more with art and artistic tendencies

Among the arts cultivated by people Music seems to be the most prominent "It was almost the only art in which people of all vocations took an interest" There are words like गीतकला [cp का p ३७६] गन्धर्वशास्त्र [cp का p. १५६] गान्धर्ववेद [cp का p १२६] गीतयुक्ति [cp वा २६ ह p ८६] etc which show how music was cultivated both as a science and an art In one passage in Kādambarī, various musical instruments are referred to [cp. "अनेकप्रहत . ध्वनि का p 16] We find technical references to सवादी and विसवादी स्वरः, [cp ह p ८६] ताल and लय, [cp. ह. p. १२१] तान and समा etc [cp ह p १३१] Among musical instruments mentioned are आलिङ्गक (a small drum), flutes, cymbals (झल्लरी), अलाबुकीणा (gourd lute), काहला (a musical instrument), पाणविक (a labor), विरञ्चीवाद्य (a kind of lute) and मुरज.

"Dancing was usually accompanied by music and it was considered as an independent art and science. [cp K p. १५६ ह p १३१] It was practised as a profession mainly by the class of courtesans, though it was learnt and taught in respectable families" The art seems to have been learnt both by women and men. The dance was generally accompanied by a musical orchestra, and at times by vocal music The dramatic art also was known

"Painting and sculpture also appear to be pretty commonly pursued arts In the description of Ujjayini, picture-galleries have been mentioned Occasionally there are references to शालभञ्जिकाः or dolls or statues The existence of पुस्तकृत [cp ह. p 127] and दास्कम [a model maker, would also indicate the development of sculpture Citrakarman or painting is described as one of the arts like music to be learnt by a man who seeks to be versatile Besides these there were a number of other arts which were considered as essential for making a man versatile They are नकुनिदत्तज्ञान, यन्त्रप्रयोग, तुरगवयो-

ज्ञान, पुष्पलक्षण, रतितन्त्र etc". We find in this way that the people in those days had an interest in several arts. [cp K p 196 "चन्द्रापीडो . अगात् wherein we find reference to some arts and games of that time. So also at K pp 199-200 "तामि . अनाचके" we have references to some pastimes At K p 149, 199 we have references to इन्द्रजालिकपिच्छिका At K. p 91 we have reference to गान्धिकभवन, ताम्बूलिकभवन and सद्गोपनभवन].

aBṛā's age viz. the reign of Harṣa was an age known for a great impetus to Art and Literature But much of the literature growing was not original (cp उन्पादका न बहवः कवयः परमा इव।— हर्ष Int v 5) Considerable plagiarism was prevalent (cp हर्ष. Int v 6) But a lot of good literature was also growing. There were different styles present in different regions (cp हर्ष. Int. v 7) The criteria for literary excellence according to Bṛā are नव अर्थ, अग्राम्या जाति, अक्लिष्ट श्लेष, स्फुट रस and विकटाक्षर-वन्द (cp हर्ष Int v 8) Bhavabhūti, who came soon after Bṛā had similar views (cp यत्प्रौढवमुदारता च क्वचन यच्चार्थतो गौरवम्—M. M. I.) Both prose and poetry were widely cultivated, but in Bṛā's days गद्य was particularly popular. Bṛā's ideas about good गद्य are reflected in the phrase, "उत्कृष्टकविगद्यमिव विविधवर्णं. श्रेणीप्रतिपद्यमानाभिन्वयार्थसञ्चयम्।" He refers to qualities of good कथा in का Int v 8 Importance of रस and ध्वनि was emphasized by Bṛā [cp हर्ष Int v 8, का Int v 8, and "मृदुवाच्यमिव अनय-चिन्तिताभिप्रायवेदकम्—K. p १८७] Bṛā has also referred to artificial poetic devices like वक्रोक्ति, अक्षरच्युतक, मात्राच्युतक, बिन्दुमयी, प्रहेलिका, गूढचतुर्थाद and प्रदान He refers to the following types of literature— कथा, आख्यायिका, आख्यान, नाटक, मुभाषित and काव्य There was a lot of floating literature existing in his days. In हर्षचरित [cp हर्ष pp १९८-२००], in Skandagupta's speech to Harṣa there is reference to several stories, historical or legendary. The sources of many of these stories cannot be traced, but many of these are referred to in कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र, कामन्दकीय नीतिसास्त्र and बृहत्संहिता Bṛā has referred to many of his predecessors or their works in his introduction to Harṣacarita Bṛā has also referred to भाषाकवि, वर्णकवि and प्राकृतकृत् amongst his contemporaries There were many Prakritis current then [cp अष्टादशनापास

referred to at K p १०८] The old *Dravidā* was singing a song which was, in his own vernacular [cp. reference to द्राविड's स्वदेश-भाषानिवद्धभागीरथीभक्तिस्तोत्र K p 227] "Besides the above-mentioned literature there was tremendous growth of the technical religious and spiritual sides as well. Thus we find mention of मोमासा, Grammar, Logic, Law, Politics, Metre, Music, science of horses and elephants etc'. Bana has probably referred to काशिकावृत्ति ०१ पाणिनिसूत्र, to वाक्यपदीय of भर्तृहरि and to न्याय, a commentary on काशिकावृत्ति etc through छन्द at हर्षचरित pp ८६, -८७, though scholars are not agreed on this point. "The scripts in different parts of the country were quite different from each other and the knowledge of those scripts was considered as essential for gaining versatility [cp K p १०६ where people in उज्जयिनी are said to be सर्वलिपिज्ञ, and K p १५७ where Candrapīda is said to have attained proficiency in all scripts (सर्वलिपियु)] Of note are (i) a reference to कविहदितक at ह p 300 and to manuscripts of books at ह P 378. Along with the growth of literature grew a number of other professions like लेखक (scribe), वाचक (reader), कथक (Narrator), बग्दिन् (bard) etc

Civil and Military Administration — We do not get much information about civil administration. Yet we can be certain that the population was distributed between cities and villages. The usual extent of a village was an area tilled by a thousand ploughs [cp ह P २०३ "मीरमहस्रममितसीम्ना ग्रामाणाम्] The headman of a village was called अक्षपाटलिक् (being in charge of अक्षपाटल or the place where account books were kept). He was assisted by a number of कणिक or accountants and clerks [cp ह P २०३ "सकलवरणिपरिकर "] The central office of the management and accounts was in the capital city, where the king personally supervised the work. Clerks of the court had records about varied details apropos villages and cities. The administration of justice was in the hands of अक्षपाटलिक् in villages, and in the hands of judges in cities. Taxes generally were low, people were prosperous and contented. There were many अन्नछत्र चर्मशाला and प्रयास. Harṣa very assiduously attend'd to the welfare of the state. Gifts were made in land or cash to worthy persons in recognition of some notable achievement in some field of activity. There was

not much litigation, though suits about robberies, offences, money-transactions etc. were occasionally there. But on the whole, "civil suits were comparatively very few and criminal even fewer still"

The whole country was divided into a number of smaller states. According to Hsien Tsang there were 72 such states [cp Vaidya pp 48-57]. They were brought under one sovereignty by Harṣa. The important provinces mentioned by Bana are स्याण्डीवर and श्रीकच्छ, where हर्ष ruled his ancestral kingdom, the हूण country to the north on the lower slopes of हिमालय, Kanauj where यहवर्मा, the husband of राज्यासरी, ruled, मालव the ruler of which killed ब्रह्मवर्मा and imprisoned राज्यश्री, & Gauḍa country (central Bengal) where ruled शशाङ्क, who treacherously killed राज्यवर्धन. The provinces already brought under control by प्रभाकरवर्धन, हर्ष's father were the हूणदेश, सिन्धुदेश, गुर्जर, गांधार, लट and मालव. The king of प्राग्ज्योतिष sought alliance with Harṣa after the latter started his conquest.

The different local chiefs were generally at war amongst one another, though now and then a sovereign ruler like Harṣa brought a political unity to the country (viz northern India) but after the sovereign power became weak, there would be disintegration again. Harṣa established his sovereignty over the Northern India after a continuous warfare for thirty-five years as per the account of Hsien Tsang and his only defeat came at the hands of the Calukya king Pulakesin II (cp V Smith pp 313-4).

The system of monarchy was in vogue, and a king had all powers concentrated in his hands. He was supposed to have divine portions in his make-up. The usual timetable of the king would be to finish early his morning constitutional, go to the Assembly, grant interviews to persons waiting for him, discuss matters of state, then to retire to the inner apartments at the mid-day couch. There a king took some exercise, then bath, worship and food. After food he would have betel and in a few cases a perfumed cigar (cp परिपदिषुमर्ति - K p 24). In the afternoon the king would again go to the assembly and retire once again in the evening to the inner apartments. (At K p 119 "नर्तनं चकार

we get a good description of an ideal king's functions At K p 7 we get a description of kingly pastimes of king Sūdraka The following pastimes are enumerated (i) music (in which he used to play on the मृदङ्ग), (ii) मगया (iii) काव्यप्रवचनरचना (iv) शास्त्रालाप (v) आख्यानक आख्यायिका-इतिहास-पुराण-आकणन (vi) आलेख्य-विनोद (vii) वीणावादन (viii) मुनिजनचरणशुभ्रपा (ix) अक्षरच्युतक, मानाच्युतक, विदमती, गुदचतुषपाद प्रहेलिका etc

The royal premises (राजकुल) consisted of the palace the harem the assembly hall and other state offices There were seven sections (सप्तकक्षान्तराणि) beyond which was situated the royal residence There were a number of mansions pleasure parks and pleasure-mountains armouries and stables for horses and elephants within the royal premises Camels are also mentioned in Harṣacarita There were different gates at different places with doorkeepers keeping a vigilant eye on the ingress and egress of people

Huen Tsang mentions that there were four divisions of the army but according to C V Vaidya only three were there viz Elephants Horses and Footsoldiers Chariots were not in use in the march of armies as a branch of the army Chariots seem to be used only on ceremonial purposes on occasions Harṣa had a very large army

The state administration was run by the king with the help of a number of ministers headed by a chief minister (e g शुभनास). In Kadambari we find a reference to hereditary ministers [cp का p 7 'अनेककुलप्रमागतं अमात्यै परिवृत्त] There was also a commander-in-chief There was generally benevolent monarchy' as the ideal though not constitutional monarchy' of the later times

' Two ceremonies of military significance have been referred to in the Harṣacarita (1) नीराजना [cp ह्य p ४७] and (2) पुष्पाभिषेक (cp ह्य p ५८) The first is to be performed by the king before going to the battle field It consisted of waving light in general in front of the army In particular it was performed in the case of horses at the beginning of the षष्ठ, season The second was

the taking of ceremonial bath by the king on पुष्यनक्षत्र day accompanied by royal insignia "

In the early part of Uc. VII of the Haracarita, we have a very ornate description of the royal army on march, but there are many realistic touches too like the casual utterances of various persons in the march. We find that people on the way were sometimes complaining of loot and harassment, though generally they greeted the king with obeisance and presents.

The चतुर्सीमा of India are enumerated by Bāṇa in both हर्ष-चरित and वादम्बरी cp, " आ... उदयाचलात्, आ... सुवेलात्, आ... अन्द्रगिटे, आ... गन्धमादनात् ।"—हर्ष pp. 335-6 "आ शैलादुदयनाम्, ... आ सेनुवन्मात्, ... आ मन्दराचलात्, ... आ गन्धमादनात् ।"—वा. pp; 54-55. In one passage from हर्षचरित pp, 343-7 (प्रमाद-निर्वाणम्) wherein Skandagupta advises to हर्ष, we get a number of references to old legends, many of which may be historical. So also in K, p, 331 there are some persons inquired about by Vilāsavati, which persons may be historical, or may as well be non historical, specially as वादम्बरी is a कथा and not बाह्यादिका.

Religious conditions.—There was complete religious tolerance in Bāṇa's days. Various rival sects lived side by side peacefully. The main rival religions of the day were Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Of these the last, particularly the दिग्म्बर sect thereof, does not appear to have much popularity in northern India. The sight of a naked Jain monk was regarded as ominous (cp. अभिमूढ-मात्रगाम शिनिपिच्छलाञ्जनो नगनाटक-ह. p. 254-5). The other two religions were flourishing. Hindus seemed to look at Buddhism with fairness and tolerance. cp 'मगवन् सर्वं... जनेन (ह. 428 9). A person could change his faith without much persecution दिवाकर-निन्द, originally a student of मैत्रायणीय recension of दक्षुर्वेद accepted Buddhism while he was still young. And even when he was a Buddhist, he was waited upon by followers of various schools like the Śānyas, Bhṛgavatas, Jainas, Paurāṇikas, Mīmāṃsikas etc. all in quest of truth, "in the giddy whirlport of opposing doctrines". Bāṇa, himself an orthodox Brahmin writer does not gloss over the Buddhist leanings of his patron's family. But as already said above

religious tolerance was by and large the order of the day and hence Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, as also several other minor isms, though differing in cardinal philosophical doctrines to a fair extent, were amicably co-existing

And this religious tolerance in public was an echo of the religious tolerance practised by the Royal House for these were days, when राजा कालस्य कारणम् was a truism. Thus, while पुष्पभृति, Harṣa's remote ancestor was a devout worshipper of Śiva (cp ह pp १००-१) and had a great regard for the Śaiva भैरवाचार्य, प्रभाकरवर्धन, as also his two immediate predecessors were परमादित्य भक्तस प्रभाकरवर्धन every day worshipped the sun with red flowers. He had celebrated many and elaboratesacrifices, showing his love of Vedic religion. राज्यवर्धन, Harṣa's elder brother, was परमसौगत, and so also राज्यश्री, his sister had developed Buddhist leanings. When राज्यश्री was about to commit suicide in the Vindhya forest we find her companions invoking Buddha in their distress (cp भगवन् भवनजने सञ्चरिणि सुगत सुप्तोऽसि ह p 431). Harṣa was a परममाहेश्वर (cp the Madhuban Copperplate E I IV 67, Banskhera Copperplate E I IV 208). The Sonpat seal of Harṣa has an emblem of Nandi. Harṣa started on his expedition after worshipping Śiva (विरचय्य परमया भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ह p 350). The head accountant of the village where Harṣa encamped on the first day presented him with a golden seal with the crest of a bull. Harṣa, though thus very much devoted to Śiva, and also to his family deity Āditya, was definitely inclined to Buddhism and has expressed his intention to don the red robes of Buddhism with his sister, after completing his avowed task of conquest (cp इयं तु प्रहीष्यति मयैव सम समाप्तदृश्येन षयायाणि—H p 450). But Harṣa was impartial in his liberality and at his quinquennial assemblies, wealth was distributed to followers of all religious denominations of the day. But the royal interest in Buddhism in Harṣa's days had made that religion an attraction for some learned Brahmins even to espouse (cp F pp 408-9 'धृतो जनमिति' giving some information about दिवाचरमित्). All this data show that between Brahmin and Buddhist or between devotee of one deity or another, there did not exist any wide gulf as a

person brought up in different environment may feel as existing. "There were certain root-ideas, certain habits of thoughts and modes of life which were common to all" Hiuen Tsang dwells at great length on the condition of religion in the times of हर्ष. He mentions that towards the end of his career Harṣa became a very devout Buddhist and once in every five years he held a great assembly on the sand of the river when he emptied his treasury to give away all in charity to the needy (B R W. W. Vol I pp, 214-5) We hope that the student of हर्षचरित will not fail to read the curious incidents and anecdotes that the Chinese traveller relates concerning Harṣa.

The main national religion of Baṇa's days, however, was the Hindu or Brahmanic religion. And Baṇa's works show how it was prospering well and how it was based on its वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्था. Baṇa was naturally very proud of the Brahmanic religion himself, and he has shown his full acquaintance with both of its sacramental and popular aspects, as has been shown in this book at various places, in discussions about the society of the 'day, about Baṇa's learning or about Baṇa's religion. But Baṇa shows also a fair acquaintance with almost all the other faiths in the field, prominent among which were Buddhism, Jainism and Śaivism.

Baṇa has referred to both the दिगम्बर (or बार्हण) and श्वेताम्बर (or श्वेतपट्ट) The वेसलुञ्चन are separately mentioned, but we wonder whether they were a separate sect of Jainas as Dr Potdar believes. The Digambaras were not much respected as noted elsewhere. We have a reference to मयूरपिच्छवाहि क्षपणक at K. p 31. The नतदया aspect of Jainism was admired cp "जिनघर्मणेव जीवानुकम्पिना"—K p 106. Queen विलासवती approaches a सिद्धदेव नमनपणक to get a boon for पुत्रप्राप्ति, though these naked monks were generally abhorred. A monk's uncleanness was looked at with disgust and contempt.

Buddha has been mentioned as a deity अयलोकितेश्वर, a बोधिसत्त्व, has been referred to (cp ह p ७२, २३७). Buddhists seem to be worshipping some deities of theirs. Baṇa refers to Buddha as Jina, and mentions the three resorts of Buddhism. The Buddhist Jatakas and the famous वाग of वसुधवु seem to be widely

read and recognized books of Buddhism. Brahmin writers criticised Buddhist philosophy severely, but respected the personality of Buddha. Perhaps there was a sect of Buddhists who wore white garments, instead of red (cp. H. p. २३६ 'पाण्डुरिभिक्षुभिः')

Siva followers were numerous e.g. Harṣa, Bāṇa, Sarasvatī, Mahas'vetā, S'ūdraka, Puṣṭapabhūti Bhairavācārya are all S'iva devotees. S'iva temples abounded, Caṇḍikā worship seems to be popular in Āndhra. Bhairavācārya's description is typical of a शैव साधक (cp. H. pp. १०३-४). A S'iva text महाकालमत seems to be referred to at K. p. ४२१. We have description of a Caṇḍikā temple at K. pp. ४१७-२६, and of महानवमीमह a festival in honour of Caṇḍikā at H. p. २३२.

"The class of ascetics and mendicants had largely increased on account of the growth of various minor sects. Some of them were respected even in the royal palace, Kings were generally generous and religious by nature and hence they always welcomed the visit of such people. Thus it is described that ascetics of all sects, Buddha, Ārḥata, Pās'upata, Brahmācārin, were to be come across in the palace of Harṣa (p. ६०). In the mansion of शुक्रनास too a similar gathering is referred to (K. p. १९३)." Asceticism was not restricted to men only, nuns were also quite common. "Besides these religious sects, the old Āryan religion of sacrifices was also in vogue to some extent." Bāṇa is proud to have come from a family which was continuously observing the tradition of sacrifice.

The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas had attained a position of holiness and recitations of these texts in public temples and private households seems to be popular. Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas are many times alluded to by Bāṇa. The reader सुदृष्टि is said to have entertained Bāṇa to a recitation of वायुपुराण, पौराणिकस are said to have surrounded the bereaved Harṣa to console him when his father died. The महाभारत was very popular specially amongst women. Queen Vilasavati in Kadambarī heard the recitation of Mahābhārata. Bāṇa's reference to Purāṇas and Paurāṇikas shows how western scholars are wrong in assigning a very late date to the Purāṇas.

Idolatry was quite common. In Kādambari we get a fine description of the temple of the Mahākālā of Ujjavini and of Śiva with four heads. We get descriptions of Caṇḍikā temples in both of Bāṇa's works. We find also a reference to Gaṇapati with one tusk. So also we get references to worship of Brahmā and Kārtikeya, both of whom do not receive much worship these days. Āditya and many other deities were also worshipped.

There were temples of various deities and many had royal grants to support them. धर्मशास्त्रs, प्रपाठs, स्तूतs and स्तम्भs were there all over the country.

Beliefs and Superstitions — Social beliefs and superstitions always make an interesting reading, and show how we have not much changed through centuries in these matters.

Belief in omens was common and widespread in Bāṇa's days. Some of the ill-omens are throbbing of left eye of men and right eye of women; general tremor of body and gloominess of disposition, the movements and cries of certain birds and animals (e.g. going of deer on one's left, the long and weird cry of a crow, howling of female jackals etc.) "Various phenomena in the atmosphere and on earth are understood as indicative of evil omen. The shower of dust, earth-quake, appearance of comets, redness of sky, stormy wind etc. are described as portending evil. The sight of certain persons was considered as inauspicious. Thus हृषीकेश, coming in front of him, a naked Jaina ascetic indicative of future evil. The sights of वनप्रतिद्वन्द्व under anxious circumstances was also considered as indicative of calamity."

Divine favour was sought in times of distress. Various deities were propitiated. Worship and sacred recitals were resorted to.

Some auspicious things were a pitcher full of water, fire with flames इन्द्र प्रदक्षिण etc.

Belief in astrology, palmistry and physiological marks was current. Dreams, particularly at early dawn were believed to be indicative of some coming events. Observance of vows and व्रतs was current. (e.g. दिव्यान्वयी's observances for दुःखप्रान्ति at K. pp. 64-65, also compare Parvati's vows for attaining Lord Śiva as

her husband cp पार्वतीपरिणव pp 25-7) At times even magic remedies were tried e g. The जरद्, द्रविड used स्त्रीवशीकरणचूर्ण (cp. K. p 227 गृहीत चूर्णेन)

Philosophy and Ethics :—Bāṇa seems to be philosophically a believer in 'Unity in Trinity' (cp का Intr v. 1), a Vedāntin (though not a मायावादिन् of the शाङ्कर view), and at the same time a special devotee of god Śiva (see ह Intr v 1, का Intr.v 1 पार्वती० v. 1 and also the section on Bāṇa's religion elsewhere in this book) An associate of Harṣa as he was he knew Buddhist philosophy well and knew both the earlier and later schools of Buddhism viz सर्वास्तित्ववाद and शून्यवाद (cp बोद्धनैव सर्वास्तित्ववाद-शूरेण—का p १०६ and बौद्धबुद्धिमिव निरालम्बनाम्—p २६५). For Bāṇa's regard for Buddhism cp " भगवन् . वचसाम्—ह. pp 428-9 and " मम. आरोपयिष्यति"—ह p 430

The philosophy of मीमांसा had a great hold on people then, and Bāṇa has referred to terms like अधिकरण (cp वाक्याविदामधिकरण०—ह p ७९) and भावना (मीमांसवा इव भावना—का p २६४). Bāṇa has referred with pride to his family traditions of learning. Bāṇa has also mentioned वैशेषिकः, साह्यः, पाशुपतः, भागवतः, ईश्वरकारणिकः, मस्करिन्ः, ब्रह्मचारिन्ः, पौराणिकः, धर्मशास्त्रिन्ः, वैयाकरणः, कारन्धमिन्ः (Alchemists), पाञ्चरात्रः, वेदान्तिन्ः, मीमांसकः, the followers of the systems of न्याय (or ईश्वरकारणः), वैशेषिक (or काणादः), साह्य (or कपिलः), वेदान्त (or औपनिषदः), मीमांसा (or सप्ततन्तुः). There were also aethists (cp " लोकायतिक अधर्महृत्... K P. 150). For reference to different philosophers and philosophies cp H p. 413 ' वीतरागं—p 414 आवेद्यमानम्". Also cp K p 208 where we get reference to पाशुपतपरिव्राजिकः, रत्नपटव्रतवाहिनीः, श्वेतपटव्यञ्जनाः, other तापसीः, and also to deities like अम्बिका, वार्तिकेय, विष्टरथवत्, जिन, आयं विलोकितेश्वर, अहंत, विरिञ्चि, नारद-दुहिन् (?) At K p 95 S'ukanāsa is waited upon (by) ' शाश्वद्विजैश्च'.

Belief in transmigration was deeprooted

Bāṇa seems to believe in the social order based on चातुर्वर्ण्य existing in his time His ideal village is असद्वर्णवर्णव्यवहारस्थिति Asceticism was respected and Karma doctrine has brought a

fatalistic approach at large - Moral responsibility was emphasized and so was duty. Bapa's reformist leanings are seen in his spirited arguments against सत्ता. Bapa has given some practical advice e. g. in शुकनासोपदेश or कपिञ्जल's address to पुण्डरीक.

[In this chapter, the author is specially indebted to Dr Potdar's work unspecified quotations in this chapter are from him, those page references that are printed in Devanagari figures in this chapter are from N's Edns.]

CHAPTER IX¹

KATHĀ & ĀKHYĀYIKĀ

“The distinction between Ākhyayikā and Kathā is presented to us in a puzzling confusion in the writers on poetics, explaining and justifying in large measure the refusal of Daṇḍin in his Kavyādarśa to have anything to do with the distinction.”

—Keith Classical Sk. Lit. p. 172.

Ancient Sanskrit Rhetoricians have divided Sanskrit Kāvya in three broad-though by no means scientific-divisions viz गद्य, पद्य and मिश्र. The गद्य is generally divided into कथा and आख्यायिका. Kātyayana is the first author to mention ‘आख्यायिका’ specifically, Patañjali gives three illustrations of आख्यायिकाऽऽ (viz वासवदत्ता. सुमनोत्तरा & भैरव्यो) while commenting on Kātyayana’s vartika. Agnipurāṇa deals with the nature of कथा and आख्यायिका as follows - ‘कर्तृवशप्रशसा स्याद्यत्र गद्येन विस्तरात् । कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भविपत्तय ॥ भवन्ति यत्र दीप्ताश्च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तय । उच्छ्वासाश्च परिच्छेदो यत्र सा चूर्णिकोत्तरा ॥ वक्त्र चापरवक्त्र वा यत्र साऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ श्लोकैः स्ववशसक्षेपात्कवियंत्र प्रशसति । मुख्यार्थम्यादताराय भवेद्यत्र कथान्तरम् ॥ परिच्छेदो न यत्र स्याद्भवेद्वा लम्बकं वचित् । सा कथा.. ॥ (Adh 337, s. 113-17). Actually Agnipurāṇa gives five varieties of गद्यकाव्य viz आख्यायिका, कथा, खण्डकथा, परिव्रथा and कथानिका. But the last three are only minor sub-varieties of कथा.

Bhāmaha defines कथा and आख्यायिका almost similarly:— ‘प्रवृत्तानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना । गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्या नायकेन स्वचेष्टितम् । वक्त्र चापरवक्त्र च काले भाव्यर्थशसि च ॥ वक्त्रेभिप्रायकृत्तरङ्गकने (व.] वधाने) कैश्चिदङ्कितता । कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता । न वक्त्रापरवक्त्राभ्या युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ॥ सस्मृत सस्मृता चेष्टा कथाऽपरशभावतथा । अर्थे स्वचरित तस्या नायकेन तु नोच्यते । स्वगुणाविष्टिति कुर्यादभिजात वध जन ॥ (I. 25-29).

“Putting together the characteristics of these two classes of prose works as given by the Agnipurāṇa and Bhāmaha, an ancient rhetorician, we gather that (1) in an आख्यायिका there is a detailed

eulogy of the poet's family in prose, while in a कथा the poet briefly praises his family in verse (2) In an आख्यायिका such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles separation of the hero are described, in a कथा it is not so (3) In an अख्यायिका it is the hero who relates his own deeds, in a Katha the story is told by others and not by the hero (4) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections called उच्छ्वास and contains stanzas in the वक्त्रा and the अपरवक्त्रा metres, which are suggestive of future events a कथा may not be divided into sections and if it is, they are called लम्बकः (5) an आख्यायिका is distinguished by the possession of certain catchwords which the poet ingeniously puts in, in a कथा it is not so "

With slight variations* Dandin in his *Kavyadarśa* notes these characteristics of the Katha and the Ākhyayika, criticises the two fold distinctions of Gadya, shows that the characteristics mentioned are not exclusive, nor have writers followed these uniformly, and comes to the conclusion that both the Katha and Ākhyayika are but two names of the same species of prose composition (cp *काव्यादर्श* I 23 30 " गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।

* The distinctions between कथा and आख्यायिका given by Kane, after Dandin are as follows — "(1) In an आख्यायिका it is the hero himself who tells the whole story, while in कथा the story is told either by the hero or by some one else (2) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections named उच्छ्वास and contains verses in the वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र metres while in a कथा it is not so (3) In a कथा such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles, separation, the rise of the sun and the moon are described, in an Ākhyayika it is not so (4) A Katha is distinguished by possessing certain catchwords which the author intentionally puts in ' We shall find that there is some difference in these items and the points given by us after अग्निपुराण ann नामह But about points 3 and 4 from Mm Kane's summary from Dandin, we wonder whether Mm. Kane has not erred in summarising *Prin* Karmarkar makes the following additional points after Dandin (1) A कथा uses the आर्षा (2) Also a कथा is written either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit (cp कथा हि सर्वभाषाभि ससृष्टतन च वध्यत । भूवभाषामयी प्राहुरदभूताया बृहत्क्याम् ॥—*काव्यादर्श* I

इति तस्य प्रभेदो द्वौ तयोरास्यायिका किल ॥ नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा । स्वगुणाविपिन्यादोपो नात्र भूतार्थशक्तिः ॥ अपि त्वनियमो दृष्टस्तत्राप्यन्यैस्वीरणात् । अन्यो वक्ता स्वय वेति कीदृग्वा भेदलक्षणम् ॥ वक्त्र चापरवस्त्र च सोच्छ्वासत्व च भेदकम् । चिन्हमास्यायिकायाश्चेत्, प्रमङ्गलेन कथास्वपि । आर्षादिवत्प्रवेश किं न वा वक्त्रापववत्रयो । भेदश्च दुष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं तत ॥ तत्कथास्यायिकेऽपेका जाति सज्ञाद्वयाडिकता । अत्रैवान्तर्भविष्यन्ति शेषाश्चारयानजातय ॥ कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयादय । सर्गबन्धसमा एव नैते वैशेषिका गुणा ॥ कविभावकृत चिन्हमन्यत्रापि न दुष्यति । मुखमिरटार्थसंसिद्धयै किं हि न स्यात्कृतात्मनाम् ॥ १. Dandin's opinion is of a very great significance. Because firstly he was himself a famous गद्यकवि. And secondly he must have had before him many more examples of कथा and आख्यायिका, than we have and must have found that there are not sufficient distinctions between the two varieties. His Daśakumāracarita agrees strictly with neither of the stereotyped definitions of कथा and आख्यायिका.

But in spite of Dandin's criticism, the orthodox division was accepted in succeeding centuries by rhetoricians like Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others, though they too do not agree fully as regards the details of these two varieties. Bāṇa has referred to these two classes of literature amongst others. He has paid a compliment in his Harṣacarita to previous आख्यायिकाकारः. Bāṇa has mentioned as peculiarities of आख्यायिका two factors viz. division into उच्छ्वास and the occurrence of वक्त्रामेत्. He himself calls Harṣacarita an आख्यायिका. So also he calls कादम्बरी as a कथा. The author of अलङ्कारमग्नह added a new distinction viz. that आख्यायिका shall be based on historical facts and कथा on a fictitious plot (गद्य तु कथित द्वेषा कथेत्याख्यायिकेति च । कथा कल्पितवृत्तान्ता, सत्यार्थाख्यायिका मता ॥) Amarakośa too defines कथा and आख्यायिका as 'आख्यायिकीपलब्धार्था' (historical narrative), 'प्रबन्ध-कल्पना कथा' (romantic narrative). According to this criterion Daśa is a Kathā. This new principle seems to be added after Bāṇa's works were known. Rudraṭa in his Kāvyaalankāra has defined the Kathā and Ākhāyikā (cp वाचस्पत्यकर - 16 20 30) forming his definitions apparently on the models of the Kādāmbarī and the Harṣacarita, the two standard specimens of these kinds of prose.

compositions Ānandarvārdhana refers to Kathā and Ākhyayikā in his Dhvanyaloka when he lays down certain restrictions on the use of long compounds. He says that long compounds should not occur in depiction of pathos and the love of separated lovers—
 cp आख्यायिकाया तु भूम्ना मध्यममनादीर्घममामे एव सद्गदने । गद्यस्य विकटनिव-
 न्वाश्रयेण च्छायावत्तात् । तत्र च तस्य प्रवृष्यमाणत्वान् । कथाया तु विकटवन्ध्या-
 चूर्णे ऽपि गद्यस्य रसव-बोद्धवोचित्वमनुमर्तव्यम् । गद्यवन्द्ये ऽपि अस्तिदीर्घममास-
 रचना न विप्रलम्बयुद्धारकरणयोरास्नायिकायामपि शमित । ” (cp Dhvan-
 yaloka Nīṭayasagara edn pp 143-144) (Earlier Dandin had recognised profusion of compounds as the very life of prose :
 ओज समानभूयस्त्वनेनद् गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।—Kavya I 80) Abhinava-
 gupta distinguishes between these two classes of compositions by
 saying that while the Ākhyayikā is possessed of sections called
 उच्छ्वासाः and of stanza in वक्त्रा and अपरवक्त्रा metres, the Kathā
 is free from such characteristics (cp “आख्यायिकोच्छ्वासादिना वक्त्रा-
 परवक्त्रादिना च युक्ता । कथा तद्विरहिता ।” लोचन p 14) Vidyānātha
 in his प्रतापहरयज्ञोभूषण (cp 96 B S S) characterises the Ākhyā-
 yikā in similar fashion

The most modern definitions of the Kathā and Ākhyayikā are those given by Viśvanātha (15th cent A D) in his Sahityadarpana VI. His definitions echo the earlier ones. According to him a Kathā contains a fine plot in prose with here and there a stray stanza in the आर्या, वक्त्रा or अपरवक्त्रा metres, in the beginning there is a salutation in verse and a mention is made of the conduct of the wicked etc. An Ākhyayikā is similar to a Kathā but in it we have in addition an account of the poet's family and sometimes of other poets. The divisions of the narrative are styled as आश्वसाः (which word curiously is never in vogue'), which contain in the beginning stanzas in the आर्या, वक्त्रा and अपरवक्त्रा metres that are suggestive of future events. For Viśvanātha's definition cp “कथाया सरसं वस्तु गद्यैरेव विनिमित्तम् । कश्चिन्न भवेदाया कश्चिद्वक्त्रा-
 पवक्त्रके ॥ आदौ पद्यैर्नमस्कार म्प्लादेर्वृत्तकीर्तनम् । आख्यायिका कथावत्स्यात्क-
 वंशानुकीर्तनात् । अन्यामन्वकवीना च वृत्तं पद्यं क्वचिक्वचिन् ॥ कथाशाना
 व्यवच्छेद आश्वसाम इति दध्यते । आर्यावक्त्रापवक्त्राणां छन्दसा यत्र केनचित् ॥
 अन्यापद्योनाश्वसामुते भाव्यवस्तुनम् ॥ ”
 —साहित्यदर्पण VI

CHAPTER X

(A) The Sanskrit Prose Romance

“If as I have been accustomed in these lectures to say, ‘Poetry is the expression, in beautiful form and melodious language, of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which the spectacle of life awakens in the finest souls’, it is clear that this may be effected by prose as truly as by verse, if only the language be rhythmical and beautiful’

— Prof Sharp, ‘Aspects of Poetry’

In Sanskrit Literature verse has always been the more popular vehicle of expression than prose † All the same Sanskrit Prose contains a vast amount of Literature Sanskrit narrative prose begins in the brahmanical legends in the Yajurveda and the various Brahmanas Its tradition continued through the prose portions of Mahabharata This early narrative prose was essentially simple and colloquial The current of narrative Sanskrit Prose gradually then branched in two main streams (i) The Fable literature and (ii) The Sanskrit Prose Romance, with which we are directly concerned here

† Sanskrit Sahitya, sastra has never equated Kavya style with verse-form Poetry may be written in prose, in verse or in a mixture of the two From the earliest times Sanskrit Rhetoricians have drawn a clear distinction between the essential and the non-essential or variable attributes of poetry, and the literary form of expression has been made variable Sanskrit Kavya is divided into (i) दृश्य & श्रव्य or (ii) गद्य, पद्य & मिश्र Of these latter, Prose is represented in Sanskrit Literature by comparatively few works Sanskrit Literature is extremely poor in prose, and it has about half a dozen good works in this branch They are दशकुमारचरित, हयचरित, कादम्बरी, वासवदत्ता, तिलकमञ्जरी, गद्यचिन्तामणि and धीरनारायणचरित Besides these Datta mentions a गद्यवाच by भट्टारहरिचंद्र and वनपाल in his तिलकमञ्जरी (Intro st 23, 36) mentions तरुणगवती and शैलोपसुंदरी ‡ Prose was mainly used as a vehicle for bhāṣya and such works

When we speak of Sanskrit Prose Romance, we immediately think of the 'famous four' viz (i) *Dasarumaracarita* of Dandin (ii) *Garudatta* of Subandhu, (iii) *Harsacarita* and (iv) *Kadambari*, both of Banabhatta. But obviously they had their predecessors, though their works have not come down to us. The narrative literature started from the fountainhead of the Vedic legends, the two national Epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the *Bṛhatkatha* and the *Puranas*. Though the *skandha* and *brahmayajnas* in the technical sense are products of a later age, *skandhas*, *brahmayajnas*, *skandhas*, etc. have been referred to by early authors.

It would be worthwhile to survey such earlier references to these literary types, because they would show how the narrative literature in Sanskrit was unfolding itself and how the forms *skandha* and *brahmayajna* emerged out in due course. The earliest author to refer to *skandhas*, *brahmayajnas*, *skandhas* and *puranas* is *kaṭhavyana* (cp his *vaṭṭika* 'brahmayajnasamyo vāṭṭik' on 'adhikṛtā vāṭṭikā'—pa 4, 2, 23, and the *vaṭṭika* 'brahmayajnasamyo vāṭṭikā' on pa 4, 2, 20.) *Paṭanjali*, while commenting on the abovementioned *vaṭṭika* 'brahmayajnasamyo vāṭṭikā' gives the names of three *brahmayajnas* (i) *vasavaddata* (not Subandhu's obviously) (ii) *sumanottara* and (iii) *śaṃṣṭī* (cp 'adhikṛtā vāṭṭikā' vāṭṭikā vāṭṭikā | *vasavaddata* *sumanottara* | *śaṃṣṭī* | *śaṃṣṭī* |). At another place *paṭanjali* speaks of one who knows or studies the *skandhas*, *vasavaddata* or *sumanottara* cp *vasavaddata*, *śaṃṣṭī*. K. H. Horn's edn of *Mahābhāṣya* Vol II p 284. *Guṇadhya's* *vāṭṭikā* was a very eminent work in *śaṃṣṭī*, and it is a source of much of later narrative and fable literature. *Jalhana* refers to *brahmayajna* of *vararuci* and *śaṃṣṭī* of *raṃṣṭī* *śaṃṣṭī* refers to *brahmayajna* by *paṭṭika*. *Bana* has himself referred to *brahmayajna* of *vararuci*. *Dandin* (6th cent A D) refers to the distinction between *skandha* and *brahmayajna*, discusses it and finally disapproves of it as being hypocritical as both are different names for the same class of composition (cp *Kavyadarśana* I 23-30) *Dandin* in the same way that an *brahmayajna* should exhibit a plot of the

†We do not know what kinds of works these *vasavaddata*, *sumanottara* and *śaṃṣṭī* are, for up till now their names only are known.

compounds (cp तद्गुरुणा लज्जना च बाहुल्याल्पत्वमिश्रणैः । उच्चावचप्रकार
 तद् दृश्यमाख्यायिकादिषु ॥—काव्यादर्श I 81). Subandhu seems to
 indicate literary prose current in his days— which has had some
 particular poetic canons to observe cp ‘सकविकाव्यदन्व इवावद्धनु-
 द्विन—वासवदत्ता p 134 (Hall)’ (wherein he votes against the use
 of padding words like तु, हि etc), and ‘दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुल मुश्लेष-
 चक्रधरनायक सत्तविवचनमिष—वासवदत्ता p 184 (Hall)’ (where he
 refers to the division of a work in उच्छ्वासा and the use of श्लेष
 and verses in चक्र metre, and where he seems to have the आख्यायिका
 type in mind) Bana often alludes to the two classes of com-
 position viz कथा and आख्यायिका among others cp ‘काव्यनाटकाख्या-
 नाख्यायिकारुट्टरवाख्यानानादिनियानिगुणं’—para 4 of कादम्बरी ‘कथासु
 नाटकेषु आख्यायिकामु वाक्येषु’—para 71 of कादम्बरी; ‘उच्छ्वासान्नेष्य-
 क्षित्रास्त येषा वक्त्रे मरुन्वती । कथमाख्यायिकावाग् न ते वन्द्या. कवीश्वरा ॥’
 (हर्षचरित Intro v 10 wherein he pays a tribute to the आख्यायिका-
 कारs preceding him and refers to two peculiarities of the आख्यायिका
 type viz उच्छ्वासा and चक्र metre verses), ‘करोम्याख्यायिकाम्नोर्वा
 जिह्वाच्छदनचापलम् । (हर्ष Intro v 19 wherein he clearly calls his
 हर्षचरित as आख्यायिका); In कादम्बरी पूर्वभाग Intro vv 8, 9 and 20
 clearly indicate that कादम्बरी was intended as a कथा, verse 20 of
 these specifically says so. (द्विजेन तेन . निश्चयेमनिद्वयी कथा) Thus
 when Bana wrote one आख्यायिका and one कथा, he was not striking
 a new path, but he had a certain amount of such literature before
 him, and critics were already laying down canons governing these
 two types.

Just as we have discussed the development of Sanskrit Prose
 Romance in pre Bana days just now, it would be interesting to
 see how far the literary ornate prose style which finds mature
 expression in Bana’s works had developed in pre-Bana centuries,
 and how the simple prose of the Epic or pre-classical period got its
 richness of poetic sentiments, devices and figures And in this
 survey, we feel it an honour to find the way, under the guiding
 light shed by that doyen of alamkarikas Mm. P. V Kane, who
 informs how some scholars believe that Bana wrote before
 “Sanskrit rhetoricians had done their best to degrade the sublime
 art of poetry to a pedantic enunciation of set similes and metaphors”.

(Vide Dr Peterson's Introduction p 43) Mm Kane has shown how this contention is to a great extent fallacious. For we can easily demonstrate that long before Bṛha the science of Rhetoric had made great progress. Here are some important land marks therein — (i) In an inscription of रघुदाम् (150 A D) [Archaeological survey, Western India vol II (about Kathiawad) p 128] we find prose which contains long compounds, alliterations (अनुप्रास) and other figures. In this very inscription, we find a reference to some fundamental literary norms in the phrase “स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तसन्दममयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य” (prose and poetry, ornate, and decorated by poetic conventions and perspicuous, short, sweet, striking and charming words). (ii) In an inscription of समुद्रगुप्त (4th cent A D) (Dr Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol III p 9) we have a prose that almost vies with that of Bṛha cp ‘कृपणदीनानाथातुरजनोद्धरणममरदीक्षाद्युपगतममम समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोचानुग्रहस्य धनदत्तधेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य स्वभुजवलाविजितानेकनरपतिविभवप्रत्यपणनित्यव्यापृतायवतपुत्रस्य निमित्तविदग्धमतिगार्धर्वल्लिनेर्दीडिनविदग्धपतिगुस्तुम्बुस्नारदाद्विद्वन्नेनोपजीव्यमानानेककाव्यनियामिप्रतिष्ठितकविगजदादस्य’ &c (iii) The Mandisor inscription of 437 A D, composed by बलभद्रि shows the poet's attempt to rival in diction and imagery with great masters of classical Sanskrit like Kalidasa and Bhavbhut specially the former cp ‘चल्पनाकान्यवलासनाधान्यत्यर्थं गृह्यन्वदिकारानि । तद्विल्लनाचित्रमितान्कृतुं तुल्योपमानानि गृह्याणि यत्र ॥’ Or ‘गमाननाथभवनोदरभास्कगमवहिनप्रनावनुमगे जल्लोचनीने । चद्रागुह्यन्तलचन्दनान्बन्हारोभोगरहिने हिमदिग्गपत्रे ॥’ or ‘चतुस्रमुद्रान्तविलोभेतला मुमेहकैलामदृहपयाप्रराम । वनान्तवात्स्फुटपुण्ड्रहामिनी मुमारगुण पृथिवी प्रशामनि ॥’ Or ‘स्मरवदशतः शजन्वत्लभाद्यानाविपुलकान्तपीनास्तनत्रचनालिङ्गनगिनत्तिततुहिनान्प्रमाण ॥’ (This last verse, an आयु, contains one single compound). (iv) Bharavi (circa 550 A D) has devoted one entire canto XV of his Kiratarjuniya to attempt various यदाहकार्य चित्रयत्, variety of metaphors, etc. (v) Derrida in the 6th Cent A D gives a fairly detailed treatment of rhetoric, and clearly says that he is working on the ground laid down by the पदाचार्य cp ‘कि तु व ज विकल्पानापूर्वाचार्ये प्रकल्पितम् । तत्र परिमन्त्रुमिदमस्मपरिग्रहम् ॥’ — काव्यादत्त II 2.

It was Dandin who asserted " अजं नमानमूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।" — वाच्यदानं I 80 And later writers have generally followed his dictum (vi) Bhatti who comes from the 6th or 7th Cent A. D has devoted four सर्ग's of his भट्टिकाव्य for illustrating subjects of rhetorical nature, and has exemplified more than thirty figures of speech (vii) In मुद्रङ्गु's वासवदत्ता we meet a number of allusions to Rhetoric Subandhu has boasted of प्रत्यक्षरस्येय — cp " मरुत्वोत्तवरप्रगादस्त्रके मुद्रङ्गु मुञ्जनेकमुद्रङ्गु । प्रत्यक्षरस्येयमयप्रथमविन्याससर्वदण्डनिर्दिष्टमपनम् ॥". He also refers to दृष्टता वच, उपदेश and आशेष cp " दृष्टगलावधो वचंययनामु उशेराशेषो वाच्यालङ्कारेय "— वासवदत्ता p 126 (Hall) (viii) Bhaṭṭa has mentioned the figures of speech जाति (= स्वभावान्वित), उपदेश and श्लेष in the introductory verses to इषंययित, and the figures दीर्घ, उगमा, श्लेष and जाति in the introductory verses to Kadambari. Thus Bhaṭṭa was preceded by considerable development of Rhetoric, and there had developed already a literary prose having the usual stylistic features of literary prose like श्लेष words alliterations, epithets and compounds Also compare the remarks of Prof. A A Macdonell in his History of Sanskrit Literature (p 321): " Besides the epigraphic evidence of the Gupta period, we have two important literary prose inscriptions of considerable length, one from Girnar and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the 2nd century A D They show that even then there existed a prose Kavya style, which in general character and in many details resembled that of the classical tales and romances. For they not only employ long and frequent compounds but also the ornaments of alliteration and various kinds of simile and metaphor, their use of poetical figures is however, much less frequent and elaborate, occasionally not going beyond the simplicity of the popular epic." Rhetoricians of the early days have drawn and discussed the distinction between वाच्य and अवाच्य as we have seen in Chap IX All the evidence goes to show that Sanskrit Prose Romance had a tradition of its own It might not have been stereotyped in early days Probably then these works must have been more narrative than didactic and have dealt with popular Epic figures or legendary figures like an Udayana or a

Vikrama. The inscriptional literature also suggests a gradual growth of Sanskrit Prose style

But when we come to the 'famous four', we find a considerable ornateness of style. Vigour of style and long compounds become now the *sine qua non* of Sanskrit Prose Romance. cp ओज समासभूयस्त्वमेवद्गद्यस्य जीविन्म । Description gets the upper hand with narrative naturally going in the background. The thread of the narrative is generally slender and halting and it is almost suffocated under long descriptions full of compounds, puns, literary tricks, various alamkāras and the like. All the same charming descriptions, poetical thoughts, pithy sayings and gracefully simple prose passages are found interspersed in those elaborate compositions.

Dandin's Daśakumaracarita or 'the narrative of ten Kumāras' is the simplest of the four great Romances in its style and is a very popular work. The story centres round Prince Rajavahana and his nine associates, who meet after a separation in Ujjayini and relate the accounts of experiences of each in their sojourns. The work is known as a 'dharmakhyāna'. The various experiences of the prince and the ministers' sons run the entire gamut of life, from princes to paupers, from pativratas to prostitutes, and they present a picture of society, which is very live, though full of the wondrous and the supernatural too! Dandin's style is on the whole Vaidarbhi. His 'padalalyta' is famous. His skill as a narrative author is considerable and he creates subtle humour of character and situation. He uses śleṣa freely but is never pedantic about it. His style is graceful, simple and vigorous.

The Vasavadatta of Subandhu narrates the story of a maiden Vasavadatta (who is different for the Vasavadatta of the Udayana legend). Subandhu is a specialist in Vakrokti and śleṣa. He calls himself 'प्रत्यभरश्चेत्यमप्रद' 'प्रविश्यामवैदग्ध्यनिधि'. The framework of the story is slender and the gorgeous description in its manifold elaboration is everything. The maiden's beauty, the hero's heroism and the charming description of the spring, the forest and the mountain are very vividly painted. The interest of the story is almost lost in its artificiality of style which often becomes wearisome and puzzling to the reader. It is written in perfect Gaudi

(B) The Historical Kavya

“ सट्वापते सकुचित यथा यत् यत्कीर्तिपात्र रघुराजपुत्र ।
स सर्वं एवाशिव प्रभाव न कोमनीया वचयति ॥ ”

—बिहलणस्य

It is an ageold complaint that Indians as a whole have lacked historical consciousness in their early literature. And naturally enough Historical Kavya in Sanskrit is represented by just a few works the most outstanding being Kalhāṇa's राजतरङ्गिणी. Because of the general lack of historical perspective we have the odd experience of eking out little bits of historical facts from the phenominally voluminous Sanskrit literature. In the long vista of Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) literature the following have some historical significance (1) Stray Vedic references to historical matters (2) Epics and पुराण, (3) The Various अनुक्रमगीत of the वेद (4) The different scattered piecemeal data available in different classical Sanskrit works (5) Buddhistic and Jain works (which unfortunately lack as much historical sense as their Hindu counterparts) (6) The Indian inscriptions are the most valuable and most important branch of Indian historical literature.

Now we shall deal with the more important of the Historical Kāvya —

(1) The Harṣacarita of Banabhatta —see above Chap V

(2) The Gaudavaho of Vakpatiraja —This Prakrit work of early 8th cent A D has a lot of historical bearing and throws much light on the society of the day

(3) The नवसाहसार्चरित of पद्मगुप्त (or परिमल) (1005 A D) —This is a poetic work of 18 cantos which has for its theme the history of king नवसाहमादक of Malwa and his winning of Princess Sagiprabha. The author of this historical काव्य was a protege of the kings of Dhruva Vakpatiraja and Sindhuraja who inspired him to compose it

(4) (5) The drama कणमुदरी and the historical काव्य विक्रमादक देवचरित —Bilhana (11th cent A D) has two works of historical significance (1) the semi historical drama Karṇasundari and (2) The famous historical Kāvya Vikramāṅkadevacarita. In कणमुदरी he describes the marriage of a Chalukya prince with a Vidyadhara

(B) The Historical Kavya.

“ लङ्कापते सकुचित यशो यन यत्कीर्तिपात्र रघुराजपुत्र ।
म सर्व एवादिवचे प्रभाव न कोपनीया वचय क्षितीन्द्रे ॥

—बिहूलणस्य.

It is an ageold complaint that Indians as a whole have lacked historical consciousness in their early literature. And naturally enough Historical Kavya in Sanskrit is represented by just a few works, the most outstanding being Kalhana's राजतरङ्गिणी. Because of the general lack of historical perspective, we have the odd experience of eking out little bits of historical facts from the phenominally voluminous Sanskrit literature. In the long vista of Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) literature the following have some historical significance (1) Stray Vedic references to historical matters (2) Epics and पुराण, (3) The Various अनुव्रमणोऽ of the वेद (4) The different scattered piecemeal data available in different classical Sanskrit works (5) Buddhistic and Jain works (which unfortunately lack as much historical sense as their Hindu counterparts) (6) The Indian inscriptions are the most valuable and most important branch of Indian historical literature.

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into royal favour and he has written a Kāvya named जयनिहाम्युदय in honour of that king. But his fame rests mainly and appropriately on his राजतरङ्गिणी

Kalhana had taken his task of historian seriously and he had studied all the historical works of his time like the Purāṇas Harṣacarita, works of Bilhana inscriptions, grants, traditions etc. He had seen places of historical significance, examined coins and thus tried to get all the possible preparation as a historian. And he has given a vivid description of the historical and social facts of Kashmir. He opines that the people of Kashmir are beautiful but feckle minded, the army undisciplined and nervy, but the princes were courageous and spirited. The officers were noted for corruption and highhandedness. Kalhana excels even Bilhana or Bṛha in characterisation.

But Kalhana has limited himself to Kashmir's history and his work does not deal with outside matters to any appreciable extent. Further he wrote history to convey the futility of rulership and empires.

He has tried to give the history of Kashmir from earliest times to the 12th century A. D. The first three तरङ्गः mainly deal with the गोवन्द (or गोवन्दवश). In the 4th is described the कर्कोट वश in the 5th उत्पलवश, in the 6th लोहरवश, in 7th the account is brought to हर्ष's assassination and in the 8th from उच्छल's राज्या-रोहण a period of forty years is covered, until the contemporary days of king Jayasimha. In the earlier portion we find that mythology has got mixed up with history and so the account is not reliable completely from a historical angle. The more contemporary period is naturally treated with a more certain touch.

Other miscellaneous works under historical काव्य which have some historical significance are the following—राजावलि of जोनराज, राजावलि of धीवर, वाजम-जुयीकल्प (a Buddhist work) सोमपाल विलास of जल्हण, रामपालचरित of मेचन्द्र, पृथ्वीराजविजय of unknown, सोमेश्वरदत्त, जगद्गुचरित of कर्ण-पूर of शम्भु, रघुनाथाम्युदय

Appendix A

Alamkaras and Subhasitas in Banabhatta's Works

[We give below a list of selected references to passages in Banas works—हृषिकरित्त and कादम्बरी—to illustrate Banas's use of the different figures of speech. And then we give a select collection of Banas subhasitas]

(Part I) Alamkaras in Banabhatta's Works

1 उपमा—(i) हृ intro v 16 (ii) 'सायतने तनीयति जिगानि श्वाननिने नभस्वति —हृ p 22 (iii) The teeth of Bhairavacarya's emissary are 'अलावृवीगविष्ट —हृ p 165 (iv) 'बौद्धेनेष जीवानुवम्पिना'—का p 51 (v) 'सो उपमाति'—का (उ) p 287

2. श्लिष्टोपमा—(i) हृ intro v 4 (ii) हृ intro v 12 (iii) हृ intro v 13 (iv) हृ intro v 14 (v) हृ intro v 17 (vi) हृ intro v 20 (vii) 'मास्वमव्यनायक - उद्वहती -हृ p 12 (viii) 'चक्रर वृत्तकर'—का p 5 (ix) प्रेताधिपनगरीव विविधनुमुमा च । (There is double उपमा here— का pp 19-20 (x) 'मये च जनस्य —का (उ) p 202

3 रूपक—(i) हृ intro v 1 (ii) हृ intro v 19 (iii) हृ intro v 21 (iv) 'एष प्रवाह सुशानाम—का p 44

4 श्लिष्टरूपक—(i) 'स्यय पिठिता —का (उ) p 287

5 उत्प्रेक्षा—(i) हृ intro v 2 (ii) हृ intro v 3 (iii) 'निर्मलंनतादन समुद्रनासमाना —हृ pp 11-12 (iv) 'सकात-कपोलस्यलीं वपाना'—हृ p 12 (v) 'निर्गोकमुनि कृतयुगस्य'—हृ p 30 (vi) हारमिव दहनस्य अम्बरधिया—हृ p 30 (vii) 'अति चिर रात्रलमी'—का p 5 (viii) 'आभरण उद्दमानम'—का p 9 (ix) उमद यपुनाम् —का p 11 (x) 'अति-यूल रहाम्'—का p 11 (xi) 'सवतरष अभवन —का p 83 (xii) 'उचित अपश्यन्'—का p 183 (xiii) 'विरतिव पथानम —का (उ) p 340

6 श्लेष—(i) हृ intro v 6 (ii) 'सम्बन्धि प्रभावमणि'—हृ p 163 (iii) वने स्व शप'—हृ pp 332-3 (iv) घन सम्भूताग्नि'—हृ p 419

7 विरोधभास —(i) 'सनिहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह. p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत्'—वा. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—वा p 20 (v) 'अभिनव. दौवन राजसेवानभिपम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'सोयरासि क्लृपीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजृप्ति शिशृजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

9 सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(i) 'नाम्नैव वामुदेवम्'—वा p 5

11 निदर्शना —(i) 'गच्छलु आरीपयति'—वा p 155

12 परिस्रष्टया —(i) 'अस्मिन्च राजनि विचारा'—ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिन्च राजनि आसन्'—वा p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च ..अधोगति'—वा para 37 (iv) 'येषा च धर्मय'—वा (उ) p 288.

13 शीघ्र —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—वा (उ) p 253

14 मालाशीघ्र —(i) 'अपि बुभुमयवा'—वा (उ) p 290

15 अपहृनुति —(i) 'अथ तस्या वपटमभूत्'—वा p 190 (where we have almost 7 सदेहमद्वर or अपहृनुतिस & व्याजोक्तिस)

16 अनुप्रास —(i) 'सर्वोचोदञ्चदुच्च .. पट्चरणवत्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'त्वद्गतुद्गत तारवाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति.. भस्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाकठ बोद्गमा'—ह p 144 (v) 'याम .. धर्मस्य'—वा p 56 (vi) वा para 131

(Part II) Subhāṣitas in Daṇḍa's Works

(1) विदुष्या हि पिपा पयनि घृतमुदय सर्वानर्पान अग्न सनो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निगमं विराधिनी चय पय पात्रर्याखि धर्मत्रोपयोरेवत्र वृत्ति—ह p 18 (3) धमा हि मूलं सर्वत्रयमाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निरारब्धनिर्वाणि बन्धयति मनश्चिनो.पि मानगमन्.पत्रनादापत्नी ।—ह p 23 (5) मतां हि शिषवस्ता कृत्विष्या । ह p 11 (6) उतमातां च विरक्तता ज्ञानयन्.जीविष्यति वा शिष्यमात्रमपि कदाचन ।—ह p 11 (7) अग्नि ननु दातिव्यसोपो मन्त्राम् ।—ह p 11. (8) मल्लिनाथोऽपि मनानुपदिष्टाति

- लोमानि त्वन्तु भवन्त्यदिवेकिना मनादि ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिगन्ति हि
 विवरमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपादानेन वाचा दिनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिनः ।-ह. p. 134.
 (10) निरुगंस्वैरिणी स्वहृच्चनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति ।-ह. p. 164.
 (11) उ पनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमनि जन शील्यवादा ।-ह p. 165-6. (12)
 प्रतनुगुणप्रादृशाणि कुमुदानीव हि भवन्ति सता मनादि ।-ह p. 175 (13)
 घ नोमणा म्नायत्यल हतेव मनन्विता । ह p 176. (14) मुञ्चे यौर्वं
 निवन्ति न वाचि । ह. p. 187. (15) ऋद्व्यापिनः पन्नुषेत्तनामलमाना
 मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) मन्वन्तिवापि प्राप्य तुलेद लघुप्रवृत्तिरति-
 मायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रचुपकारदुष्पवेशानु भवन्ति धीरजा हृदया-
 वष्टमाः ।-ह p 191. (18) भृशजनादुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताता
 मनादि ।-ह. p- 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा खलु म्नेहमया
 बन्धनपाशा, यदाहृष्टमिर्धन्वेभ्येदमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न
 हृषपपुष्पभाजा बधमलटकुर्वन्ति भवाद्गा ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु
 बन्धुमन्तो राजानः, न ज्ञातिनि ।-ह p. 267. (22) काम स्वय न भवति न
 तु श्रावयप्रियं दचनमरतिकरन्तिर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23)
 दु खदग्धना च नूनिरमल्यन्त्रा चाग्रन्ता च निरययोगा च भवति ।-ह. p 285.
 (24) य च तिल शोकः समभिभवति त कन्पुष्पपात्रकृते शान्तविद । तिनयो
 हि विषयः मृचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि नृत्ववन्तः ।-ह.
 p. 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितान्देहम्विन ।-ह p- 328. (27)
 अतन्वदमिन्यो हि भवन्त्यदिवेकिना यिद ।-ह p 353 (28) मंत्री च
 प्रायः कामेभ्यपेक्षिणी सौगीमृताम् ।-ह- 384. (29) देवस्य हि पशाति
 सचिचीपतो देहिरह्यमूतानि घनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रायशन्व जनन्य
 अनयति मृहृदपिदृष्टो मृद्यमास्वाहम्-ह p- 408 (31) जनिगमनीयाश्च गुणाः
 सर्वस्य ।-ह. ।- 408. (32) वस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुदिभावः ।-ह. p. 408.
 (33) भगवती च बंधेऽपि धर्ममृष्टिणी गरिगापमलादयति प्रवन्ता, कि पुनः
 नृवलमनोमृषि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408-9 (33) जलोहः सद्य संयमनपाशाः
 सौवर्णं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह. p. 417. (34) अल्टकारे हि परमार्थत प्रभवता
 प्रथयातिशय, रत्नादिवस्तु मिलाकारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्दिनपुनर्विना
 न विद्यामन्ति मञ्जने त्वाद्दि दृश-ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमक-
 रताताम् ।-वा. p. 33 (37) प्रायेणाकारपनित्राप्यतिकरताश्रीणि च सदा
 भवन्ति सता चैतानि ।-वा. p. 37 (38) पुन्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महा-
 मूर्तीनाम् । कि पुनर्दंसानि । वा p 43. (39) अनायपरिपालन हि धर्मोऽभ्य-

7 विरोधभास —(1) 'सनिहित स्निग्घतारवा च'—ह p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत्'—वा. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—वा p 20 (v) 'अभिनव, यौवन राजसेवानभिज्ञम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'तोयराशि कलुपीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(1) शयनोपजुषि शिशूजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

9 सहोक्ति —(1) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(1) 'नाम्नैव वासुदेवम्'—का p 5

11 निदर्शना —(1) 'स खलु आरीपयति'—का p 155

12 परिसह्या —(1) 'अस्मिन्च राजनि विचारा —ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिन्च राजनि आसन् - वा p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च अधोगति'—का para 37 (iv) 'येषा च धर्माय —का (उ) p 288

13 दीपक —(1) 'तथा धारयति'—का (उ) p 253

14 मालादीपक — (1) 'अपि वसुमघवा'—का (उ) p 290

15 अपह्नुति —(1) 'अय तस्या कपटमभूत्'— वा p 190 (where we have almost a सदेहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिs & व्याजोक्तिs).

16 अनुप्रास —(1) 'सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च पट्चरणवक्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'त्वद्गनसुडग तारवाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति . भक्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाफल बोधगमा —ह p 144 (v) 'याम धर्मस्य'—का p 56 (vi) का para 131

(Part II) Subhaqitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानर्थान असत सतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निसगविरोधिनी चेय पय पावकयोरिव धम क्रोधयोरेकत्र वति —ह p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूल सर्वैतपसाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानयमसदशजनादापत ती ।—ह p 23 (5) सतां हि प्रियवदता कुलविद्या । ह p 41 (6) उत्तमाना च चिरतनता जनमत्यन्जीविचपि जन किय मात्रमपि म दाक्षम ।—ह p 41 (7) अक्षीण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोशो महताम ।—ह p 41 (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि

- लोयानि सन्तु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनाति ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि
 विनयमनुत्पप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन । ह. p. 134.
 (10) निरुगस्वैरिणी स्वहृद्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति । ह. p. 164.
 (11) ऽपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।-ह p 165 6. (12)
 प्रननुगुणप्राहृषाणि बुसुमानीव हि भवति मता मनासि ।-ह p 175 (13)
 प नोभ्रणा भ्लायात्यल रत्नेव मन्स्विता । ह p 176 (14) भुजे वीर्ये
 निवसति न चाचि । ह p 187 (15) बहूरव्यापिन पन्नुचेतसामलसाना
 मनोरथा ।-ह p. 191. (16) सपक्षिणापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रहृतिरत्रति-
 नायाति ।-ह p 191 (17) प्रयुषवारुप्रवेगामु भवति धीराणा हृदया-
 वष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना
 मनासि ।-ह p 202 (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्य कठिनतरा सन्तु स्नेहमया
 यन्धनपाशा, यदाहृष्टामित्यं ऽचो वेदमाधरन्ति ।-ह p 251. (20) न
 ह्यक्षयपुष्पभाजा यदासलट्कुर्यन्ति भवादृशा ।-ह p 267 (21) न
 वधुमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।-ह p 267 (22) काम स्वय न भवति न
 तु श्रावदात्मप्रिय वचनगरतिकरमितर इवामिजातो जन ।-ह p 271 (23)
 दु सदाग्ना च भूतिरमट्गला चाप्रसस्ता च निरुग्याण च भवति । ह p 285.
 (24) य च विल शोक समभिभवति त वापुसमाकल्प्य शान्प्रविद । ह p 307
 हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307 (25) प्रतापसहया हि सत्त्ववत् । त्रिषो
 p 312 (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलति सान्निताप्येऽग्निवत् ।-ह p 328 (27)
 अतस्त्वदर्शियो हि भवत्यविदग्धाना विद ।-ह p 328 (28) मैत्री च
 प्राय धार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभूताम् ।-ह p 334 (29) दत्तस्य हि यथासि
 सचिचीपतो वहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।-ह p 384 (30) प्रायशरच जनस्य
 जनयति गुह्यद्विदुष्टो भूशमारवासम्-ह p 408 (31) कनिमानीयारत्न गुणाः
 सर्वस्य ।-ह. 1-408 (32) वस्य न प्रोक्तो मुनिवाच ।-ह p 408.
 (33) भगवती च वैधेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिताम्याः प्रवृत्ता, हि पुनः
 मयलमनोमुपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408 9 (34) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 सौजन्यं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह p 417 (35) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 प्रथयातिग्य, रत्नादिपरसु तिलाभारः ।-ह p-417 (36) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 न विश्राम्यन्ति राजने त्वादृशि द्वा-ह p 417 (37) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 रणानाम् ।-वा p 33 (37) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 भवन्ति मता धेनामि ।-वा p 37 (38) अहं सत् समयमनपाय
 मनीनाम् । नि पुनर्दंतानाि । वा p 43

7 विरोधभास —(i) 'सनिहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राशीत्'—का. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—वा p 20 (v) 'अभिनव. दीवन राजसेवानभिनम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवग'—p 92 (viii) 'तोयराणि .. क्लृपीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि शिशुजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3

9 सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(i) 'नाम्नैव वाग्देवम्'—का p 5

11 निवृत्तना —(i) 'स खलु आरीपयति'—का p 155

12 परिस्रव्या —(i) 'अस्मिन्च राजनि विचारा'—ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिन्च राजनि आसन'—वा p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च .. अधोगति'—वा para 37 (iv) 'देवा च धर्माय'—वा (उ) p 288

13 दीपक —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—का (उ) p 253

14 मालादीपक —(i) 'अपि कुमुदमवा'—का (उ) p 290

15 अपह्नुति —(i) 'अथ तस्या कपटमभूत्'—वा p 190 (where we have almost a सदेहमद्वार or अपह्नुति & व्याजोक्ति)

16 अनुप्रास —(i) 'सर्वोद्योदयचतुश्च पट्चरणवत्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'खड्गक्षुद्रग तारकाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति . भक्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाकथ बोद्गमा'—ह p 144 (v) 'धाम .. धर्मस्य'—वा p 56 (vi) का para 131

(Part II) Subhāṣitas in Bṛhaspati's Works

(1) विगुह्या हि प्रिया पश्यन्ति शृण्वन्तु सर्वानर्यान् अगत गतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निगमविरोधिनी च य पयावयोरेव धमत्रोपयोरेव वृत्ति—ह p 18 (3) धमा हि मूलं सर्वत्रयाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निष्कारणिकाणि कष्टदयानि मनस्विनाऽपि मानसममत्राणां परमणी ।—ह p 23 (5) मता हि प्रियवन्ता कल्पविद्या ।—ह p 11 (6) उत्तमायां च विष्णोणा जलपयन्दुदादिभिः च त्रिदशभिः पदभिः ।—ह p 11 (7) अत्र च तद् दानिप्यवगतो मन्त्राम् ।—ह p 41 (8) गल्पिणीव मत्तानुगितादि

- लोलानि खलु' भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनासि ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा दिनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिनः । ह. p. 134. (10) नितर्णसंघरिणी स्वहृष्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि मृता मति' ।-ह. p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमणि जन शीलमवाचा ।-ह p 165 6. (12) प्रवतुगुणप्राहृषाणि कुसुमानीव हि भवन्ति सता मनासि ।-ह p. 175 (13) प नोपमणा म्लामत्यल स्तैव मनरिक्ता । ह p 176. (14) मुजे वीर्यं निदसति न वाचि । ह. p. 187. (15) अदूरव्यापिनः फल्गुचेतनामलसाना मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) सपत्कणिकापि प्राप्य तुलैव लघुप्रकृतिरत्रति-मायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेशानु भवन्ति घोराना हृदया-वष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना मनासि ।-ह. p. 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया वन्दनपाशाः, यदादृष्टाशित्वञ्चो येवमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न हृत्पुष्पभाजा वक्षमलदकुर्वन्ति भवादृशा ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु कधुमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।-ह p. 267. (22) काम स्वय न भवति न तु श्रावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिवरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23) दु खदग्धाना च भूतिरमटगला चाप्रगमता च निरपयोगा च भवति ।-ह p 285. (24) य च किल शोकः समभिभवति त कापुरपमाचक्षते शाम्भुविदः । रित्रयो हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि सत्त्ववन्तः ।-ह. p 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितास्नेजस्विनः ।-ह p 328. (27) अतस्त्वर्दान्तयो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना रित्र ।-ह p 353 (28) मंत्री च प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभूताम् ।-ह. 384. (29) देवस्य हि यथासि सचि चीपतो घटिरद्वयभूतानि धनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रायणश्च जनस्य जनयति सुहृदपिदृष्टो भूशमादवासम्-ह p. 408. (31) अभिगमनोपाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408 (32) वस्य न प्रतीदयो मुनिभाव ।-ह. p. 408. (33) भगवती च वैश्वेऽपि घर्मगृहिणी परिमाणमापादयति प्रवक्ष्या, किं पुनः सखलमनोमपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp. 408 9 (33) अलोह खलु सपमतपान, सोऽन्नं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह. p. 417. (34) अलङ्कारो हि परमार्थं प्रभवता प्रश्रयातिराय, रतनादिबस्तु शिलाभारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महाद्भिपुण्यं विना न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दुःश-ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमक-ष्टानाम् ।-वा. p. 33. (37) प्रायेणाकारणमिश्राप्यनिकरुणाद्रीणि च सदा भवन्ति सता चैतासि ।-वा. p. 37 (38) पुष्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महा-मूनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दंशनानि । वा p 43. (39) अनाथपरिपालन हि घर्मोऽस्म-

7. विरोधभास —(i) ' सनिहित.. स्निग्धतारका च '—ह. p. 42 (ii) ' यत्र च...प्रमदाः '—ह. pp. 160-1 (iii) ' अपरिमित... अद्राशीत् '—वा. pp. 9-12 (iv) ' अपरिमित .. पवित्रा '—वा. p. 20 (v) ' अभिनव. यौवन .. राजसेवानभिज्ञम् '—वा. p. 31 (vi) ' वनचरोऽपि.. वामलोचन. '—वा. p. 37 (vii) ' महाशर. विवेश '—p. 92 (viii) ' तोषराशि .. बलुपीवरोति '—वा. p. 105 (ix) वा. (उ) para 276

8. स्वभावोक्ति —(1) शयनोपजुषि.. विसृजने—ह. p. 132 (ii) vv. 5-6—ह. pp. 152-3.

9. सहोक्ति —(1) वा (उ) para 276

10. व्यतिरेकः—(1) ' नाम्निव .. वामुदेवम् '—का. p. 5.

11. निदर्शना —(1) ' ग खलु .. आरीपयति '—वा. p. 155.

12 परिसह्या —(1) ' अस्मिच्च राजनि... विचाराः '—ह. p. 27 (ii) ' पस्मिच्च राजनि . आसन् '—वा. p. 6 (iii) ' यत्र च .. अपोमति. '—वा para 37 (iv) ' वेपा च .. धर्माय '—वा (उ) p. 288.

13. श्लेषक —(1) ' तथा धारयति '—वा. (उ) p. 253.

14. मालाश्लेषक — (1) ' अपि. कुमुदघन्वा '—वा (उ) p. 290.

15. अपह्नुति —(1) ' अय तस्या .. कपटमभूत् '— वा. p. 190 (where we have almost a सन्देहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिस & व्याजोक्तिः).

16. अनुप्रास —(1) ' सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च . पट्चरणचक्रे '—ह. p. 22 (ii) ' त्वद्गतुद्गत . तारकाम् '—ह. p. 29 (iii) ' भगवति...भक्तिरभूत् '—ह. p. 164 (iv) ' सदाफल . बोद्गमाः—ह. p. 144 (v) ' धाम ... धर्मस्य '—का. p. 56 (vi) वा. para 131.

(Part II) Subhagitas in Bāṇabhatta's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानिर्घान् असत सतो वा ।—ह. p. 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चैव पय पावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरैकत्र वृत्ति. —ह. p. 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् ।—ह. p. 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानसगसद्सज्जनादापतन्ती ।—ह. p. 23. (5) सता हि प्रियवदता कुलविद्या ।—ह. p. 41. (6) उत्तमाना च चिरतनता जनयत्यनुजीविष्यपि जने विद्यमात्रमपि मन्दाक्षम् ।—ह. p. 41. (7) अक्षीण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोशो महताम् ।—ह. p. 41. (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि

- लोभानि तल्लु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनासि ।-ह p. 85 (9) उपदिगन्ति हि
 वितयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन ।-ह. p. 134.
 (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वरुच्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति । ह p. 164.
 (11) उ पनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।-ह p 165 6 (12)
 प्रतनुगुणग्राह्याणि कुसुमानीव हि भवन्ति सता मनानि ।-ह p 175 (13)
 घ नोत्पन्ना म्लाषत्यल रत्नेव मन्दिता । ह p 176 (14) भुजे वीर्यं
 निवसति न वाचि । ह p. 187. (15) अद्वयव्यापिन- फल्गुधेतसामलसाना
 मनोरुशा ।-ह. p. 191. (16) सपञ्चगिकापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरनति-
 मायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेशानु भवन्ति धीराणा हृदया-
 वष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना
 मनासि ।-ह p. 202 (19) लोने हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा तल्लु स्नेहमया
 बन्धनपाशा, यदादृष्टाभिर्यञ्चोप्येदमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न
 हृत्पुण्यमात्रा वशमल्लुभवंति भवान्ना ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु
 बन्धुगन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।-ह p 267. (22) काम स्वप न भवति न
 तु श्रावय दप्रिय दचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23)
 दु स्रदग्ना वा च भूतिरमद्गला चाग्रगन्ता च निरपयोग च भवति ।-ह p 285.
 (24) य च त्रिल शोक समभिभवति त कापुरदमाचक्षते शास्त्रविद । द्विषो
 हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापमहाया हि सत्त्ववत् ।-ह.
 p. 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितारतेज्रिवन् ।-ह p 328. (27)
 अतत्त्वदसिन्धो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना विद ।-ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च
 प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी शोनीभूताम् ।-ह 384. (29) देवस्य हि यथासि
 सचिचौपतो बहिरह्यभूतानि धनानि ।-ह p 384. (30) प्रायशश्च जनस्य
 जनयति मूहदपिदृष्टो भ्रामास्वासम्-ह p. 408 (31) अग्रिमनीयाश्च गुणाः
 सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408 (32) कस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुनिभाव ।-ह p 408.
 (33) भगवती च वैशेषि घर्मगृहिणी गरिमाणमापादयति प्रवक्ष्या, किं पुनः
 सकलगनोमुपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408 9 (33) अलोहं खलु सयमनपाश
 सौजन्यं अमिजातानाम् ।-ह. p 417 (34) अलङ्कारो हि परमार्थत प्रभवता
 प्रथयानिमाय, रत्नादिकस्तु मिलाभारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिमपुष्पं विना
 न वि श्राभ्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दृश-ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमक-
 रणानाम् ।-वा p 33 (37) प्रायेपाकारणमित्राण्यतिकरणार्थाणि च सदा
 भवन्ति सता चेतानि ।-का p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि गामग्रहणान्यपि महा-
 मूनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दर्शनानि । का p 43. (39) अनायपरिपालन हि धर्मोऽस्य-

- द्विधानाम् ।-का. p. 46. (40) जन्मान्तराणं हि कर्मं पञ्चमुपनयति पुरुषस्यैह-
जन्मनि । न हि शक्यं देवमन्यथा कर्मभिर्बुद्धेनापि ।-का. p. 62. (41) पर
हि दैवतमुपयः ।-का. p. 62. (42) अमोपपत्ता हि महात्मनिमेवा भवति ।-का.
p. 62. (43) धर्मपरायणातां हि मदा गमीयगपारिव्य कस्याप्यगम्यदो भवन्ति।-
का. p. 63. (44) आवेदयन्ति हि प्रत्यागमनभान-दमपयातीति शुभानि निमि-
त्तानि ।-का. p. 65. (45) अविशयपत्राश्च प्रायो निशाकगानगमपदृष्टा भवन्ति
स्वप्नाः ।-का. p. 65. (46) स्योऽप्य जात्रवाधो यद्विपद् विपद् गंपस्य-
दमनुब्रूयातीति ।-का. p. 73. (47) नटपुत्र्यभाजां भयाद्नास्तिभुवनविस्मय-
हेतव्यं पुत्रतां प्रतिप्रदन्ते ।-का. p. 96. (18) केचन च निगमंत एवाभानुमेधम-
रत्नालोपोष्ठेधमप्रदीपप्रभापनेपमनिगहन त्तमो योवाप्रभवम् ।-का. p. 102
(49) गर्भेश्वरत्वकमिनययोत्रनस्थमप्रतिमप्राप्तवमभानुशक्तिश्च चेति महतीर्यं
सत्यनर्थपरम्परा ।-का. p. 102-3. (50) गुरुपदेऽश्च नाम पुरुषाणामविल-
मलप्रशालनशामजल स्नानम् ।-का. p. 103. (51) राज्यविषविकारतन्त्राप्रदा
राज्यपलटमोः ।-का. p. 104. (52) आश्वप्रनाथो हि राजा त्रैलोक्यदर्शावि
सिद्धादेशो भवति ।-का. p. 110. (53) आश्वतथाना हि शोषाणा नियतगनु-
भक्तिष्यं फलमात्मनैव ।-का. p. 121. (54) नास्ति सन्वसाध्य नाम तप-
साम् ।-का. p. 131. (55) जनयति हि प्रभुप्रगादलवोऽपि प्रागल्भ्यमधीरप्रवृत्ते ।-
का. p. 134. (56) स्वल्पाप्येकदेशावस्थाने बालकला परिषयमुत्पादयति ।-
का. p. 134. (57) अणुरप्युपचारपरिग्रह प्रणयमारोपयति ।-का. p. 134.
(58) अहो दुर्निवारता व्यगनेगनिपाताना यदीदृशीमप्यावृत्तिगनभिभवनीयामा-
स्मीयां ब्रुवंति ।-का. p. 135. (59) सर्वथा न न कचन स्पृशति शरीरपरि-
णमुपतापा ।-का. p. 135 (60) बलवती हि इन्द्राना प्रवृत्तिः ।-का. p. 135
(61) न ह्यहृत्पीयसा शोचकारणेन क्षेत्रीभियन्त एवविषा मूर्तयः ।-का. p. 135
(62) न हि सुद्रनिर्घातपाताभिहता चलति वयुषा ।-का. p. 135. (63)
बालो हि गुणाश्च दुर्निवारतामारोपयन्ति मदनस्य सर्वथा ।-का. p. 142. (65)
अदूरकोपा हि मुनिजनप्रवृत्तिः ।-का. p. 142. (65) प्राणपरित्यागेनापि रक्ष-
णीयाः सुहृदसव इति कथयामि ।-का. p. 152. (66) सुप्तमुपदिश्यते परस्य ।-
का. p. 156. (67) सततमतिगहितवृत्त्येनापि रक्षणीयान्मन्यन्ते सुहृदमून्सा-
धवः । का. p. 158. (68) आशया हि किमिव हि न विपते ।-का. p. 171
(69) अचिन्त्यो हि महारमना प्रभाव । बहुप्रकाराश्च मसारवृत्तयः । चित्र च
दैवम् । आश्चर्यातिशययुक्ताश्च तप सिद्धयः । अनेकविधाश्च धर्मणा शक्तयः ।-
का. p. 175 (70) प्रभवति हि भगवान् विधि । बलवती च नियति ।

आत्मेच्छया न शक्यमुच्छ्वसितुमपि । अतिपिसुनानि चास्यैकान्तनिष्ठुरस्य दैवहृत्-
 कस्य विलसितानि । न क्षमन्ते दीर्घकालमव्याजरमणीय प्रेम । प्रायेण च निसर्गत
 एवानायतस्वभावमद्भुराणि सुखानि, आयतस्वभावानि च दुःखानि । तथा हि
 कथमप्येवस्मिञ्जन्मनि समागमो जन्मा-तरसहस्राणि च विरह प्राणिनाम् ।....
 आपतन्ति हि ससारपथमतिगहनमवतीर्णानामेते वृत्तान्ता । धीरा हि तरन्त्यापदम् ।—
 का p. 175. (71) दुःखितमपि जन रमयन्ति सज्जनसमागमा. ।— का.p.181
 (72) स्नेहलवोऽपि वारिणेव योवनमदेन दूर विस्तार्यते ।—का. p 199. (73)
 न ह्यतःपरमपर कष्टतर किञ्चिदपि पीडाकारण यद्गुणेषु वर्तमानो दोषेषु सम्भा-
 व्यत इतरजनेनापि । किं पुनर्गुरुजनेन । यो गुणी गुणैरेवाराधनीयः ।—का (उ) p.
 287. (74) गुरवो हि दैवत बालानाम् ।—का. (उ) p. 291. (75) ययै-
 वाशिषो गुरुजनवितीर्णा वरतामापद्यन्ते तथैवाक्रोधाः शापताम् ।—का. (उ) p.
 291. (76) स्वयमारोपितेषु तरुषु यावदुत्पद्यते स्नेहः । किं पुनरद्भ्यससम्भवेष्व-
 पत्येषु ।—का. (उ) p 291. (77) राजा कालस्य कारणम् ।—का. (उ) p.
 294. (78) तपसो हि सम्यक्कृतस्य नास्त्यसाध्य नाम किञ्चित् ।—का. (उ)
 p 322 (79) भृत्या अपि त एव ये सपत्तंविपत्तो सविद्येव सेवन्ते ।— का.
 (उ) p. 329. (80) विधिर्नामापर. कोल्यत्रास्ते ।—का, (उ) p. 334.
 (81) सर्वाभिवाञ्छितप्राप्तिस्तु महतः पुण्यराशेः फलम् ।—का. (उ) p. 334.
 (82) सुहृदस्तु स्वयं दुःखिता अपि निधानीकृत्यात्मदुःखं सुहृदुःखापनोदनार्थं
 यतन्ते ।—का. (उ) p. 336. (83) श्रुतौ च पठयत एतद्यादृशार्द्रं जायते
 तादृगेव भवतीति ।—का. (उ) p. 347.

Appendix B

ENCOMIA TO BĀNA BY ANCIENTS

- (1) श्रीहर्षं इत्यबनिर्वातपु पांशिवेषु
 नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
 श्रीहर्षं एव निजससदि येन राज्ञा
 सपूजित. कमककोटिशतेन द्वाण ॥
 बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य
 सन्नि न केञ्च कवितामुमद रयजन्ति ।
 मान्य न कस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास—
 वाचा रसेन रसितस्य भवत्ययुष्यम् ॥

- (11) युक्त कादम्बरी ध्रुवा कवयो मीनमाथिता ।
वाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यत ॥
—सोमेश्वरदेववृत्ती कीर्तिकीमुद्याम् १.१५
- (12) सहर्षंचरितारूपाद्भुतकादम्बरीकया ।
वाणस्य वाण्यनार्यैव स्वच्छन्दा ममति क्षिती ॥
(v I सहर्षंचरिता शश्वकृत०) —राजनेसरस्य
(See JBBRAS vol XVII pt. I p 59)
- (13) कादम्बरीसहोदर्या मुघया वी बुधे हृदि ।
हर्षास्यायिकया ख्याति वाणोऽधिरिव लब्धवान् ॥ —कस्यापि
- (14) शश्वद्वाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।
यनुपेव गुणादयेन नि शेषो रज्जिनो जन ॥
—निबिक्कमकृते नलचम्पूरन्ये १ १४
- (15) वेदलोऽपि स्फुरवाण कराति विमदान्ववीन् ।
किं पुन- कल्पसवान्पुलिन्द्र (न्द ?) कृतसन्निधि ॥
—धनपालकृताया तिलकमञ्जरीम् १लो २६
- (16) सुवन्धुर्वाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रय ।
वत्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥ —राघवपाण्डवीये १.४१
- (17) यस्याश्चौरश्चिकुरनिकर कर्णपुरो मयूरो
भारो हास कविकुलपुरु कालिदासो विलास ।
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसति पञ्चश्राणस्तु वाण
केपा नैपा कथय कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥
—जयदेवकृते प्रसन्नराघवे
- (18) प्रतिकविभेदनवाण. कवितातरुगहनविहरणमयूर ।
सहृदयलोऽसुवन्धुर्जयति श्रीभट्टवाणकविराज ॥
—वीरनारायणचरिते
- (19) सचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोऽरवनीपति ।
श्रीहृष इव सघट्ट चक्रे वाणमयूरयो ॥ —नबसाहसाङ्के
- (20) शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिव्यते ।
शीलामट्टारिवावापि वाणोक्तिपु च सा यदि ॥
(v I शिलामट्टारिका० in c, ०मा मता in d)
—सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे

- (21) दण्डीत्युपस्थिते सद्य कवीना कम्पता मन ।
प्रविष्ट त्वत्तर वाण कण्ठ वागव रुध्यते ॥ —वस्यापि
- (22) मेण्ठ स्वाद्विरदाधिरोहिणि वग याते सुवधौ विध ।
शानो हन्त च भारवौ विपटिते वाण विषादस्पृग ॥ —श्रीकण्ठचरिते
- (23) In the Pañcatantra of Durgasimha composed in Kannada in the 11th century A D it is said that Bāṇa was styled कविचक्रवर्तिन् by ह्य Vide Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik for 1928 p 255 et p 257

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